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**SECRET.**

A  
SHORT HISTORY  
OF  
INDIAN POLITICS

BY  
SIR VERNEY LOVETT, K.C.S.I.,  
INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

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## P R E F A C E .

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It has seemed to the Author that a clear and concise narrative of the origin and course of Indian politics may be useful just now. He has endeavoured to compile such a narrative, and has ventured to draw some conclusions therefrom. He has written with a full consciousness of the extreme difficulty of appraising and setting out fairly the ideals and mental processes of men who are not of his own race. He trusts that his readers will forgive his shortcomings.

He wishes to acknowledge his great obligations to the compilers of the interesting published reports of the proceedings of the Indian National Congress from 1885 to the present time.

*November, 1917.*



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*"We are passing from a period when we created this Empire, almost without knowing it, to a period in which all the latent purposes of our history have emerged into the full survey of everyday criticism, everyday comment."*—  
ORIGINS AND DESTINY OF IMPERIAL BRITAIN —J. A. Cramb.

## CHAPTER I.

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### INTRODUCTORY.

SOME time ago in the well-known book "J'accuse," I read the following passage: "National movements in fact cannot be suppressed. The practical politician must deal with them as facts; and if he hopes to conduct them in the desired direction he must endeavour, as far as possible, to satisfy their demands which rest on community of race, of language, and often of religion—demands which are thus healthy and justifiable. Therein lies the skill of the English, and the true basis of their colonial greatness."

These words, written by a German, and inspired by observation of recent stirring incidents, are a well-deserved tribute to the success of the colonial policy of Great Britain. Her Indian policy is, in fact, based on the same principles, but has to be adapted to far more complex circumstances; for in this great country she has to deal with not community, but many varieties of race, language, and religion. She has to meet demands of all kinds pressed upon her attention by various sections of an enormous population. These demands differ considerably, but one section has, for the last thirty years, claimed to speak for all the rest. It claims to

voice *national* wishes ; to have formulated *national* ideals. In these chapters I propose to examine the justice of this claim. What is the history of this section ? How did it come to formulate its demands ? How far does it speak for this great peaceful, amiable India which we see around us, so tranquil and calm, sheltered from the war of nations ? Does this section really voice the wishes of the whole population of the nobles and landlords, of the gallant soldiers who are fighting the Empire's battles, of the millions of peaceful cultivators who are now contentedly looking forward to a bountiful harvest, assured that no marauding hand can prevent their reaping the reward of their labour ?

If it does not represent the whole population, whom does it represent ? All these questions we will endeavour to explore ; and before attempting this exploration, we must make some study of the past—not the past which stretches away into remote ages, but a later and more prosaic past. We will trace the development of Indian politics. We will see who Indian politicians are. But to do all this, we must first observe the course of events which made politics possible in India. Indian politics began thirty-two years ago ; and the India of 1885 was, like the India of to-day, heir of a former time.

**Indian politics before British rule.** In view of perversions of Indian history which have lately become too common, it will be convenient to describe, briefly, the nature of the political inheritance

to which Britain succeeded.\* The Moghul Empire had previously swept away all indigenous political institutions and shattered all semblance of Hindu nationality except in the States of Rajputana. When that Empire itself fell into decay, Sikhs, Jats, Afghans, Marathas fought over its territories with no aim but that of plunder and annexation. The Marathas were showing signs of consolidating their acquisitions when British intervention turned the scale ; but so far from representing any pan-Hindu nationality, their government was, according to Sir Thomas Munro, a high contemporary authority, "one of the most destructive that ever existed in India. . . . Their work was chiefly desolation. They did not seek their revenue in the improvement of the country, but in the exaction of the established '*chaut*' from their neighbours and in predatory incursions to levy more."

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\* For five centuries before the first Muhammadan invasions India was immune from foreign aggression. Of this period Vincent Smith says: "The history of this long period is, on the whole, a melancholy record of degradation and decadence in government, literature, religion, and art, with the exception of temple-architecture. The three following chapters, which attempt to give an outline of the salient features in the bewildering annals of Indian States when left to their own devices for several centuries, may perhaps serve to give the reader a notion of what India has always been when released from the control of a supreme authority, and what she would be again if the hand of the benevolent despotism which now holds her in its iron grasp should be withdrawn."—*Vincent Smith's "Early History of India from 600 B.C. to the Muhammadan Conquest."*

The decline was from the prosperity and good government described by the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian as prevailing in the dominions of the Gupta Emperors who ruled over certain parts of India.

Province after province fell to the British because the Moghul Empire could no longer withstand the attacks of its enemies, and in each we found nothing in the shape of organised political institutions. Everywhere the strongest ruled, or tried to rule, by purely despotic measures. Everywhere the lives and property of the people were at the arbitrary disposal of their rulers. Everywhere armies, or hosts of marauders, marched frequently over the country, supplied their wants by plunder and left ruin in their train. Sir Alfred Lyall writes, in "Asiatic Studies:" "The character and consequences of the events which preceded British supremacy in India have, perhaps, been seldom adequately estimated. There intervened a period of political anarchy greater and more widespread than India had experienced for centuries. It was a mere tearing and rending of the prostrate carcass, a free fight with little definite aim or purpose beyond plunder or annexation of land revenue."

Let those who are prone to undervalue the advantages of British government remember the miseries which it brought to an end.

Formation of  
the present  
ideals of Bri-  
tish rule.

Endeavouring to achieve peace and security, first for our commerce and then for our territories, constantly seeking for a permanent frontier, we as constantly lost it in receding vistas, until at last we found ourselves supreme over the whole of India south-east of the Punjab. So great a charge induced serious reflection as to the responsibilities which it

must involve. Perhaps the most noteworthy utterances on the subject were those of Sir Thomas Munro, who, arriving in India in 1780 as a military cadet at the age of nineteen, died as Governor of Madras in 1827. Not only did he consider " how we can raise the character and material condition of our people, how by better organization we can root out needless misery of mind and body, how we can improve the health and intelligence, stimulate the sense of duty and fellowship, the efficiency and patriotism of the whole community ;" but, going further, he struck an altogether new note.— " The strength of the British Government enables it to put down every rebellion, to repel every foreign invasion, and to give to its subjects a degree of protection which those of no Native Power enjoy. Its laws and institutions also afford them a security from domestic oppression unknown in Native States ; but these advantages are dearly bought. They are purchased by the sacrifice of independence, of national character, and of whatever renders a people respectable. The natives of British provinces may, without fear, pursue their different occupations as traders or husbandmen and enjoy the fruits of their labours in tranquility ; but none of them can look forward to any share in the civil or military government of their country. It is from men who either hold or are eligible for public life that nations take their character ; where no such men exist, there can be no energy in any other class of the community. No elevation of character can be expected

among men who in the military line cannot attain to any rank above that of a subadar, where they are as much below an ensign as an ensign is below the Commander-in-Chief, and who in the civil line can hope for nothing beyond some petty judicial or revenue office in which they may by corrupt means make up for their slender salary."

On another occasion he wrote—

" Our great error in this country, during a long course of years, has been too much precipitation in attempting to better the condition of the people with hardly any knowledge of the means by which it was to be accomplished, and indeed without seeming to think that any other than good intentions were necessary. It is a dangerous system of government to be constantly urged by the desire of settling everything permanently ; to do everything in a hurry and in consequence wrong, and in our zeal for permanency to put the remedy out of our reach. The ruling vice of our Government is innovation ; and its innovation has been so little guided by a knowledge of the people, that though made after what was thought by us to be mature discussion, it must appear to them as little better than the result of mere caprice. \* \* \* \* \*

" What is to be the final result of our arrangements on the character of the people ? Is it to be raised or is it to be lowered ? Are we to be satisfied with merely securing our power and protecting the inhabitants, or are we to endeavour to raise their character, and to

render them worthy of filling higher stations in the management of their country and devising plans for its improvement? \* \* \*

“. . . We should look on India not as a temporary possession, but as one which is to be maintained permanently, until the natives shall in some future age have abandoned most of their superstitions and prejudices and become sufficiently enlightened to frame a regular government for themselves, and to conduct and preserve it. Whenever such a time shall arrive, it will probably be best for both countries that British control over India should be gradually withdrawn . . . When we reflect how much the character of nations has always been influenced by that of governments . . . . . we shall have no reason to doubt that if we pursue steadily the proper measures we shall in time so far improve the character of our Indian subjects as to enable them to govern and protect themselves.”

Munro overlooked an important condition of the future, as I shall subsequently show; but he was regarded as an official of exceptional ability, and it is possible that his ideas influenced the statesmen who were responsible for that important Act of Parliament—the Government of India Bill of 1833—which attempted, for the first time, to formulate the principles of British rule. It declared that no person by reason of his birth, creed, or colour should be disqualified from holding any office in the East India Company’s service.

It also forbade the Company to engage in any kind of trade, thus terminating the association of Government with profit-making, and it converted the Governor General of Fort William in Bengal into the "Governor General of India in Council." There were to be four ordinary members of Council, three servants of the Company, and the fourth a legal member appointed with the approbation of the Crown, but only entitled to sit and vote at meetings convened for legislative purposes. The first legal member was the great Macaulay. Great Britain thus declared her determination that her Empire in India should rest on freedom and fair opportunity, and took a further important step in the process of transforming the East India Company from what was originally a purely mercantile association into a special agency for the government of a great dependency. The Directors of the Company endeavoured to give effect to this generous policy by a despatch dated December the 10th, 1834. Natives of India were to be admitted to places of trust as freely and extensively as a regard for the due discharge of the functions attached to such places would permit. Fitness was henceforward to be the criterion of eligibility. And in order that the natives of India might become fit, and able to compete with a fair chance of success, every design tending to their improvement was to be promoted "whether by conferring on them the advantages of education or by diffusing on them the treasures of science, knowledge, and moral culture." At the same

time the Governor General was to remember that "it is not by holding out incentives to official ambition, but by repressing crime, by securing and guarding property, by ensuring to industry the fruits of its labour, by protecting men in the undisturbed enjoyment of their rights and in the unfettered exercise of their faculties, that Governments best minister to the public wealth and happiness."

#### English education the origin of Indian politics.

Modern Indian politics admittedly owe their origin to the decision of Lord William Bentinck, then Governor General, who in pursuance of the "liberal and comprehensive policy" laid down by the despatch from which I have quoted, announced, on March the 7th, 1835, that "the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India." As has often been told, this announcement was largely influenced by Macaulay and closed a controversy in which the question at issue was whether the instruction to be subsidised by public money should be English or Oriental; whether the language, the philosophies, and science of the West or the East should be encouraged by the State. The settlement arrived at was in principle right; for it was clearly the duty of the British Government to attempt the intellectual enlightenment of India; but in carrying out this settlement we made mistakes perceptible to after-experience, and we offended some conservative communities with sensitive prejudices, the Brahmans, who were depositaries of

orthodox Hindu tradition, and the higher classes of Muhammadans, who were attached to their own literature and philosophy. Nevertheless the Government of India proceeded on its way, promoting English and vernacular education by the establishment of schools and colleges and by grants to private institutions.\* In 1854 the Directors of the East India Company in a memorable despatch accepted the systematic promotion of general education as one of the duties of the State, and emphatically declared their desire for the diffusion of European knowledge in India. The new learning was becoming more and more necessary for the higher ranks of that great army of Indian public servants without whom the Government could not go on. Shortly afterwards a University was established at Calcutta.

**British India when Government undertook education. Reception of the new system by different classes of people.**

It must be remembered that in 1835 neither the Punjab nor Oudh belonged to Great Britain, also that throughout the whole of British India communications were still primitive and adverse to a rapid spread of the new learning. Hindus formed the great majority of its population, but our rule had followed closely on the fall of Muhammadan suzerainty, and we had inherited the Muhammadan system of despotic or bureaucratic administration. Indeed no other had been known in India

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\* "Prior to the advent of the British, the idea of State-aided education was practically unknown. The country had been centuries in an unsettled condition, and the common people were sunk in deepest ignorance. Under the caste system, the learned professions were the monopoly of a few castes, and in the law books the imparting of knowledge to Sudras (low castes) was forbidden." — *Census of India Report, 1911*.

from time immemorial. As a great Indian\* said twelve years ago : " India in the past was not known for that love of liberty and appreciation of free institutions which one finds to be so striking a characteristic of the West." So little indeed, had many Indians objected to the rise of British rule that they had freely assisted in establishing it.† The Muhammadans were enlisting freely in our armies, and in Northern British India considerably outnumbered the Hindus in all the best offices which could be held by an Indian. But their upper classes—adventurers by descent and soldiers by tradition—clung to their own history and literature; and turned their faces away from the new learning, failing to realise that, in course of time, under Western rule, Western education must necessarily become the channel to office and power. The Parsis, on the other hand, and the Hindu commercial and clerical castes, as well as those families of Brahmans who by tradition inclined to Government employ, quickly availed themselves of opening opportunities, especially in the capital province of Bengal and in the seaports of Bombay and Madras. The Rajputs or Thakurs, the great Hindu fighting caste, held entirely aloof from English education. Their ambitions were military or territorial. They lived in the interior of Upper India, and were very slightly represented in Bengal.

**Causes of  
the Mutiny.  
Effect of its  
failure on the  
Muhammadans.**

Lord Roberts' "Forty-one Years in India" gives a useful summary of the causes of the Mutiny.

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\* Mr. Gokhale. † See page 36.

He points out that it was a military revolt, but that the revolt would not have taken place had there not been considerable discontent through that part of the country from which the Hindustani sepoy chiefly came, and had not powerful persons borne us a grudge. He states that the discontent was largely due to the antagonism of the Brahmins to our innovations and to Western education which was sapping their influence. He points out that we had spread among the ruling chiefs uncertainty and discontent; that we had recently annexed Oudh and Jhansi, and had informed the titular King of Delhi that on his death his title would cease and his court would be removed from the Imperial city.

It is also important to notice that, for various reasons, the more sensitive Hindu and Muhammadan classes had conceived the idea that their religions were losing their exclusive privileges and were being steadily undermined. The proclamations issued from Delhi and Lucknow appealed to the multitude with the cry of religion in peril.

The arena of the Mutiny was the United Provinces\* of Agra and Oudh, which then included Delhi, and a large part of Central India. There was little fighting anywhere else, and no popular trouble in Bengal proper although there was some fighting in Bihar. Unlike the Punjab, neither Agra nor Oudh had been disarmed. In the Agra Province there were very few British troops

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\* Then termed the North-Western Provinces.

and those few either were drawn off to the siege of Delhi or were themselves for the first four or five months hopelessly beleaguered. At Agra itself the Lieutenant-Governor was, until after the fall of Delhi, supported against 40,000 rebel soldiers by one Company's regiment of 655 effectives and one battery of six guns manned by Indian drivers. It was indeed fortunate for our cause that in this province, which contains so much that is most national and most sacred in Hindu eyes, and has moreover been the centre of Moslem empire, the rebellion, although animated largely by racial and religious sentiment, was not a great patriotic or religious combination. Here is a contemporary description of ordinary district occurrences away from the great centres of population : "The villages and towns generally side with some neighbouring potentate, or more generally they side with no one at all. They are delighted at being relieved from all government whatsoever, and instantly set to work fighting among themselves. Every man of enterprise and a little influence collects his clan, and plunders all the weaker villages round him." It is obvious that had all these villagers and men of enterprise turned against us a continuous offensive, our plight would have been desperate.

In Oudh, recently annexed, and the chief recruiting-ground of the old sepoy army, the landed aristocracy, who are now our good friends the talukdars, were boiling with rage and discontent. In our recent settlement-

of the land revenue we had inclined to the principle of pushing them aside as grasping middlemen devoid of right or title, and, when the sepoys mutinied, most of the talukdars naturally joined them. In the whole province we had not 1,000 British soldiers, but those whom we had, assisted by some loyal Indian troops, gave a remarkably good account of themselves. The rebellion in Oudh was more national than in Agra, but here too the fighters were generally more concerned to make as much as they could out of unusual opportunities for licence and plunder than to oppose a persistent and determined front to the enemy.

Later on I shall have occasion to quote the remarks of a loyal and competent Indian observer on the events of the Mutiny. But what struck the late Sir Alfred Lyall, at that time a young civilian in the Agra Province, was the fierce hatred borne to us by the Muhammadans, and he put the whole rebellion down to them. This may have been only an off-hand expression of opinion. But more weight attaches to his later views, expressed many years after his early adventures, that after the Mutiny the British turned on the Muhammadans as their real enemies "so that the failure of the revolt was much more disastrous to them than to the Hindus. They lost almost all their remaining prestige of traditional superiority over the Hindus; they forfeited for the time the confidence of their foreign rulers; and it is from this period that must be dated the loss of their numerical majority in the

higher subordinate ranks of the civil and military services."

**After the Mutiny. The Queen's Proclamation and the Councils Act of 1861.**

When the revolt had been suppressed, the Crown took over the government of India from the East India Company. Queen Victoria's Proclamation of the 1st of November, 1858, which is frequently referred to by educated Indians as the Magna Charta of their liberties, declared that the rights, dignity, and honour of Indian ruling princes were to be preserved as Her Majesty's own, and that, so far as might be, all Her Majesty's subjects, of whatever race and creed, were to be freely and impartially admitted to offices in the public service, the duties of which they might be qualified for by their education, ability, and integrity to discharge. The peaceful industry of India was to be stimulated; works of public utility and improvement were to be promoted; and the Government was to be administered for the benefit of all Her Majesty's subjects resident in India. "In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our great reward." Three years later, an important step was taken in the first association of Indians with the Government for legislative purposes. By the Councils Act of 1861 the Governor General's Executive Council was to consist of five members, three of whom had been in the Indian service of the Crown for ten years at least. The Commander-in-Chief was to be an extraordinary member; and for the purpose of making laws and regulations the Governor General

could nominate to his Council not less than six or more than twelve persons, not less than half of whom must be non-officials.

The Governors of Bombay and Madras, who were also assisted by Executive Councils, could similarly nominate a few persons to aid in legislation, not less than half of whom must be non-officials.

The Governor General in Council could, with the approval of the Home Government, extend to the Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal, the North-Western Provinces,\* and the Punjab, who ruled without Executive Councils, the power to convoke small Legislative Councils and to appoint persons thereto, not less than one-third of whom would be non-officials.

Prominent Indians were to be associated hence-forward with the Government in legislation. The association was to be extremely limited, but marked the beginning of an amended policy.

At this time about two-thirds of the country was under direct British administration.† The rest was, and is now, ruled by its hereditary chiefs, all owing allegiance to the British Crown.

All classes of the population were now led into the ways of peace, and the whole edifice settled down.

Progress  
toward new  
problems.

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\* Now the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

† "The area under British rule is now divided into seven provinces, each under a Governor or Lieutenant-Governor, and seven under Chief Commissioners. Four of the major provinces have an area exceeding that of the United Kingdom and two of them a greater population."—*Census of India Report, 1911.*

Means of correspondence and communication rapidly improved; British capital poured into the country; railways and commerce developed; schools and colleges grew and multiplied, until at last the Muhammadans yielded to the general impulse and began to enter the English educational arena. The India of to-day gradually came into being. It was, in an important respect, a different country from that foreseen by Sir Thomas Munro. It involved more complex interests. He had not anticipated the part which European capital would play in the development of an India no longer "standing before her captors like some beautiful stranger," but traversed by railways, served by steamships, and brought into the bustling consolidation of the modern world. So blind was his augury of this side of the future that he defended the monopoly of the East India Company on the ground that it was doubtful whether or not trade with India could be greatly increased. "No nation," he wrote, "will take from another what it can furnish cheaper and better itself. In India almost every article which the inhabitants require is made cheaper and better than in Europe . . . Their simple mode of living renders all our furniture and ornaments for the decoration of the house and table utterly unserviceable to the Hindus." He saw no prospect of any considerable number of Europeans being able to make a livelihood in the country. "The trading disposition of the natives induces me to think it impossible that any European trader can long remain in the interior of

India, and that they must all sooner or later be driven to the coast."

Those were easy days for the rulers of India ; for troubles were few and opposition was scarce and insignificant. The ruling chiefs were less apprehensive and more contented than they had ever been before, and their content was reflected in our own territories. These were administered by British officers, assisted by a host of improving Indian subordinates. The officers themselves for the most part did their work, as it came, with zeal and energy, liking the people and holding generally that, in the words of a distinguished Lieutenant-Governor, "Good administration was like good digestion. It did its work and you heard no more about it." And indeed to the simple and docile masses of India, who desire only strong and sympathetic protection, good administration must always be the best of blessings. Yet at the great seaports, with which the majority of English officials were seldom in personal contact, among those middle or professional classes which had originally embraced English education, thought was beginning to enter fresh channels and a new problem was coming slowly into outline. The old Hindu idea of the unimportance of life, as a mere link in a chain of existence,\* was passing away. It was yielding to the allurements

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\*About 633 A.D. the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang remarked : "They" (the Hindus) "dread the retribution of another stage of existence, and make light of the things of this present world."

of a world of greater material comfort and of growing interest. Western education, English history, English literature, the works of Milton, Burke, Macaulay were inspiring ideas of liberty, nationality, self-government. From England were returning Indian visitors with accounts of unusual consideration conceded there. These and a commencing contact with the British democracy were producing the idea that Anglo-Indian social and political exclusiveness was humiliating and unjustifiable. Things should be changed, and power and high place should cease to be a preserve from which educated Indians were mainly shut out. In 1859, a young civil officer had written : "I am always thinking of the probable future of our Empire, and trying to conceive it possible to civilise and convert an enormous nation by establishing schools and missionary societies. Also having civilised them and taught them the advantage of liberty and the use of European sciences, how are we to keep them under us and persuade them that it is for their good that we hold all the high offices of Government ? " The time was nearing when this important question would demand an answer. It is true that Act XXXIII of 1870, while laying down the principle that "it is one of our first duties toward the people of India to guard the safety of our dominion," had provided far more extended employment of Indians in the uncovenanted civil service, and for promotion therefrom to the covenanted service "according to tried ability." But such promotions were

rare and merely whetted rising ambitions. Education was expanding not only Indian capacities but Indian desires. After some preliminary indications of discontent, the position soon became more fully disclosed.

**Vernacular  
newspapers.**

The tendency of some vernacular newspapers, especially in Calcutta, to excite disaffection against the British Government had for some time attracted attention. In 1873, Sir George Campbell, then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and subsequently for many years a Liberal Member of the House of Commons, had expressed the opinion that special legislation was required, and in 1878 an Act was passed by Lord Lytton's Legislative Council for the better control of the vernacular press. This Act was denounced in England by Mr. Gladstone, who was then in opposition, and on Mr. Gladstone's return to office, in 1880, Lord Ripon succeeded Lord Lytton, and the Vernacular Press Act was repealed. But, even before the repeal, the general tone of the press had been antagonistic to Government. It was about this time that British political controversies began to interest and influence educated Indians. A time came when they associated their hopes of advancement with the fortunes of one party. But that was not yet. Closely on the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act followed the Ilbert Bill controversy.

**The Ilbert  
Bill contro-  
versy and  
Lord Ripon.**

It will be sufficient for my present purpose to state that the question at issue in this controversy was originally raised by a note forwarded to the Bengal Government by a Bengali Hindu civilian serving in his

own province. He represented the anomalous position in which the Indian members of the Civil Service were placed under the provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure which limited the jurisdiction to be exercised over European British subjects outside Calcutta to judicial officers who were themselves European British subjects.

The note was forwarded to the Government of India with the views of the Government of Bengal, and the Government of India published proposals the effect of which would have been "to settle the question of jurisdiction over European British subjects in such a way as to remove from the Code at once and immediately every judicial qualification which is based merely on race distinctions." The proposals met with fierce European opposition. They were considered to imperil the liberties of British non-officials. After being under consideration for over a year, they were finally largely withdrawn. "Nothing could be more lamentable," it has truly been said, "than the animosities of race that the whole controversy aroused." There can be no doubt that it was a serious catastrophe, *especially in Bengal*, exciting keen racial feeling on both sides, and impressing many progressive Indians with the idea that in British India they must, unless a re-organisation of relations could be contrived, for ever occupy a hopelessly subject position. Lord Ripon was, they knew, on their side in these contentions, and he further gratified their aspirations by exerting himself to

extend and advance local self-government by district and municipal boards. He considered these institutions "chiefly desirable as an instrument of political and popular education."

He left India at the end of 1884 amid such popular acclamations as had been accorded to no preceding Governor General and has ever since been regarded by the educated classes as their great champion and patron.

**Beginnings  
of a Hindu  
nation alist  
movement.**

And before closing this introductory chapter, I must mention another movement, hardly noticed in those days, which was, later on, to take no small part in moulding the aspirations of the English-educated classes.

"India," it has been said, "is not only a land of romance, art, and beauty. It is, in religion, earth's central shrine." The face of the country is covered with places of worship. India contains three great historic religions and has given birth to a fourth. Yet Western rationalism was turning the minds of many Indians away from religion, when a Hindu ascetic, Swami Dayanand, began to preach return from idols to the monotheistic faith of the early Aryans, of the golden age when the land prospered and was blessed, before the foreigner came. He founded the now large and growing sect of the *Arya Samaj* and familiarised many Hindus\* with the conception of a far-away great and

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\* The term Hindu includes both the higher castes, who represent generally the early Aryan immigrants, and the lower castes who are the descendants of the earlier inhabitants and lost

independent Hindu India, since degraded and ruined by foreign intrusion. His efforts were assisted by the Theosophists Colonel Olcott, an American, Madame Blavatsky, a Russian, and their followers, who, in 1878, called themselves the Theosophical Society of the *Arya Samaj*, but subsequently separated from the disciples of Dayanand as too sectarian for their taste. Nevertheless Madame Blavatsky, a lady who believed herself to have been Hindu in a previous incarnation, and those with her, continued to proclaim the greatness of the Hindu religion and the present degeneration of India from the era of ancient Aryan grandeur.

In Europe, too, Professor Max Müller's edition of the *Rig Veda*, the original Hindu Bible, had introduced a new period in Sanskrit scholarship, and had preached to all the beauties of Hindu literature, "the flights of India's native philosophy, the fervid devotion of its ancient religion."

And so, about the time when English-educated Hindus were impelled by particular circumstances to impatience of British domination, and Hindu youths were reading in schools and colleges of British love of Britain, of British struggles to be free, certain Indians and Europeans were assuring all who listened that India too had a glorious past and a religion supreme and elevating. It was not surprising that in some minds the

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their independence by the imposition of the caste system. The attitude of the higher to the lower castes has been inspired by the ceremonialism of the Vedas (scriptures), and has been mainly an attitude of unbending aristocracy.

conception of the India famous and prosperous long ago, before the foreigner came, began to obliterate memory of the much more recent India rescued, as the greatest of Hindu politicians has admitted, from chaos and oppression by British rule.\* Later on we shall see how among certain classes of Hindus peculiar circumstances developed this conception into a genuine enthusiasm; but, if Colonel Olcott is to be believed, even in the early eighties the new idea was able to awake no ordinary sympathy. Of a lecture on the past, present, and future of India, delivered at Amritsar in October, 1881, his diaries, published long afterwards, record : "People who imagine the Hindus to be devoid of patriotic feeling should have seen the effect on my huge audience as I depicted the greatness of ancient and the fallen state of modern India. Murmurs of pleasure or sighs of pain broke from them ; at one moment they would be cheering and vehemently applauding, the next keeping silent while the tears were streaming from their eyes." I have found some assertions in this gentleman's diaries difficult to credit ; but it is clear that when Lord Ripon left India various influences were working to produce some kind of upheaval among those classes of Hindus which, with English

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\* "The blessings of peace, the establishment of law and order, the introduction of Western education, and the freedom of speech and the appreciation of liberal institutions that have followed in its wake—all these are things that stand to the credit of your rule."—*Speech by Mr. Gokhale on November the 5th, 1905.*

education, were learning to feel after English political ideals. They were, without exception, peaceable people ; they were prone to flowers of rhetoric and exaggerated statements. They were coldly regarded by the aristocracy, by the territorial and military classes, by almost all the Muhammadans. It is easy to see why some years elapsed before they were taken seriously by the British Government.

## CHAPTER II.

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### POLITICAL MOVEMENTS—FIRST STAGE.

**The year  
1885. Gene-  
ral condi-  
tions.**

THE year 1885 saw the formal inauguration of modern Indian politics. British exclusiveness was then far stronger than it is now. No Indian was a member of any Imperial or Provincial Executive Council, and the few Indians who sat on Legislative Councils were nominated or selected by Government. A very few Indians, for the most part Hindus, were Judges of High Courts. The number of Indians in the Covenanted Civil Service was infinitesimal. It was open to those who could afford the effort to compete for the Service in England, but few availed themselves of this opportunity and fewer obtained admission. Indians were hardly, if at all, represented on the higher grades of the Indian Medical Service, and almost all the leaders of the Bar were Europeans. The dominant influence too in Anglo-Vernacular schools and colleges was English, although a change was impending in Bengal in consequence of the recommendations of the Education Commission of 1882-3.

On the other hand, the subordinate services were chiefly manned by Indians; and it must be remembered that not only were the English-educated far less numerous than they are to-day, but that they were and are now mainly Hindus of the peaceful castes. Among them the fighting races—the Sikhs, the Gurkhas, the Rajputs,

the Pathans—were hardly represented at all. The Brahmans indeed have contributed valuable soldiers to the Indian Army and had, in considerable measure, availed themselves of English education ; but the English-educated Brahmans did not, as a rule, belong to the martial families. Nor did advanced Indians count among their ranks many members of the territorial aristocracy. Their recruits were principally drawn from castes clerical, professional, or mercantile by tradition. Thus it is easy to understand why, in spite of the liberal wording of Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858, the Government of a highly conservative country, inhabited by various intermingled races hitherto ruled by the strongest, hesitated to call to its highest places Indians who owed their status solely to their literary accomplishments. For centuries before British rule the history of India had been a history of conquests from Central Asia, each conquest enduring until the conquerors from the hills and uplands had largely merged in the industrious and less vigorous people of the plains. From the day of Plassey, the British had been constantly opposed by armed States or levies, and within the twelve years before the Proclamation had been engaged in desperate wars with the Sikhs and with their own Indian Army. The strongest had always prevailed.

The English-educated section of Indians did not represent any of these late adversaries. That it would one day become a power in the land, a power of an

altogether new kind, was vaguely recognised, but that day was relegated by general opinion to a far distant future. Inadequate count was taken of the trend of politics in Great Britain herself and of the slowly-growing interest of a small section of the British democracy in Indian affairs ; and no one foresaw the extraordinary progress and triumphs of Japan or the stimulus which these were to impart to Indian aspirations.

**Decision of advanced Indians to hold a Congress.** In March, 1885, some Indians of the new school of thought, seeking for a remedy for the then existing state of things, decided to hold a Congress of delegates of their own persuasion from all parts of British India. This resolution appears to have been largely inspired by the late Mr. Allan Octavian Hume, whom his followers have always called "the Father of the Congress." Mr. Hume was the son of Joseph Hume, a well-known Liberal. From 1849 to 1882 he had been a member of the Covenanted Civil Service. He had been decorated for good work in the Mutiny, and had retired from a Secretarieship to the Government of India. Since retirement he had lived at Simla, largely devoting his energies to propagating among educated Indians the precepts of English Radicalism. In a published correspondence of a later date, which once attracted considerable attention but has long been generally forgotten, he justified his propaganda by alleging that the *Pax Britannica* had failed to solve the economic problem ; that the peasantry were ravaged by famine and despair ; that Government was out of touch with the people ; that there was

no safety for the masses till the administration was gradually leavened by a representative Indian element. He considered it "of paramount importance to find an overt and constitutional channel for discharge of the increasing ferment which had resulted from Western ideas and education."

Mr. Hume was a prominent Theosophist; and I have seen it stated by a Theosophist that the Congress "was cradled and nursed in the Theosophical Society until it was able to stand and run." If this be true, the action of the Society in thus meddling with politics directly violated the pledges given to the Government of India by Colonel Olcott, then president. But there is reason for discrediting the statement.

The first  
Indian Na-  
tional Cong-  
ress.

The prospectus of the new movement stated that the direct objects of the Conference would be—  
(a) to enable the most earnest labourers in the cause of national progress to become personally known to each other; (b) to discuss and decide upon the political operations to be undertaken during the ensuing year. The prospectus further announced: "Indirectly this Conference will form the germ of a Native Parliament, and if properly conducted will constitute in a few years an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India is still wholly unfit for any form of representative institution." In pursuance of these instructions the first Congress met in Bombay on the 28th, 29th, and 30th of December, 1885. It was attended by 72 delegates, mostly lawyers, schoolmasters, or newspaper editors,

collected, sometimes after considerable effort, from various cities or large towns, and by a few Indian Government servants as friendly lookers-on. Only two of the delegates present were Muhammadans, and these were Bombay attorneys. Mr. W. Bonerjee, then Standing Counsel to Government in Calcutta, was elected president. He proclaimed that one of the objects of the Association was "the eradication, by direct friendly personal intercourse, of all possible race, creed, or provincial prejudices amongst all lovers of our country, and the fuller development and consolidation of those sentiments of national unity that had their origin in our beloved Lord Ripon's memorable reign." Britain had given them order, railways, "above all, the inestimable benefit of Western education. But the more progress a people made in education and material prosperity, the greater would be their insight into political matters and the keener their desire for political advancement." He thought that their desire to be governed according to the ideas of government prevalent in Europe was in no way incompatible with their thorough loyalty to the British Government. All that they desired was that the basis of government should be widened and that the people should have their natural and legitimate share therein.

The first speaker to the first resolution, Mr. Subramania Aiyar of Madras, said : " By a merciful dispensation of Providence, India, which was for centuries the victim of external aggression and plunder,

of internal civil wars and general confusion, has been brought under the dominion of the great British Power. I need not tell you how that event introduced a great change in the destiny of her people, how the inestimable good that has flowed from it has been appreciated by them. The rule of Great Britain has, on the whole, been better in its results and direction than any former rule. Without descanting at length upon the benefits of that rule, I can summarise them in one remarkable fact that for the first time in the history of the Indian populations there is to be beheld the phenomenon of national unity among them, of a sense of national existence."

Various resolutions were passed, one demanding the expansion of the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils by the admission of a considerable number of members elected by such organised bodies as municipal and district boards. Thus enlarged, these Councils were to have a voice to interpellate the Executive on all points of administration.

It was also recommended that a Standing Committee of the House of Commons should be constituted to receive and consider any formal protests that might be recorded by majorities of the new Legislative Councils against the exercise by the Executive Government of the power, which would be vested in it, of over-ruling the decisions of any such majorities.

Another resolution recommended simultaneous examinations in India and England for admission into

the Indian Civil Service. There had been some idea of discussing social reform, but only two addresses were delivered on the subject, the main objective being political.

**The second Congress.**

The next Congress met at Calcutta on the 27th, 28th, 29th, and 30th of December, 1886. It was claimed for this Congress that it marked "a total change of character. Everybody wanted to come of his own accord." It was admitted that in 1885 "people had to be pressed and entreated to come."

The Conference was attended by 440 delegates elected either at public meetings, or by societies and associations. Two hundred and thirty of these came from Bengal. The old aristocracy were entirely absent. The shopkeeping classes were represented by one member. This deficiency was ascribed by the author of the introductory article to the record of proceedings, to the fact that these classes, ignorant and immersed in their own concerns, cared for no change in a form of government which both prevented others from robbing them and "by its system of civil jurisprudence" \*afforded them ample opportunities for enriching themselves. The cultivating classes were "inadequately represented." This was because "though a great number realise that the times are out of joint, they have not learnt to rise from particular instances to generalizations, and they neither understand clearly what is wrong, nor have

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\*This, coming from an assemblage largely composed of lawyers, was rather hard on the shopkeepers.

they as a class any clear or definite ideas as to what could or ought to be done to lighten somewhat their lot in life." There were 33 Muhammadan delegates. This was ascribed partly to the "present lack of higher education among our Muhammadan brethren," and partly to the fact that three prominent Calcutta Muhammadans had publicly declared against the Congress, preferring "a policy of confidence in the Government." By far the greater majority of the delegates came from Bengal. The Punjab sent only seventeen and the Central Provinces eight. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, a Parsi and well known as the first Indian who has sat in the British Parliament, was elected president. The resolutions closely resembled those of the previous year. One asked for the authorisation of a system of volunteering for Indians which would enable them to support Government in any crisis. Another related to "the increasing poverty of vast numbers of the population of India."

The president remarked on the blessings of British rule, in the foundation of the stability of which the Congress was another stone. "Let us speak out," he said, "like men, and proclaim that we are loyal to the backbone; that we understand the benefits English rule has conferred on us; the education that has been given to us; the new light which has been poured on us turning us from darkness into light, and teaching us the new lesson that kings are made for the people, not peoples for their kings; and this lesson we have learned

amid the darkness of Asiatic despotism only by the light of free English civilization.”\*

**Abstention of  
Muhamma-  
dans from  
the Congress  
movement  
largely due  
to the influ-  
ence of Sir  
Saiyid Ah-  
mad.**

The virtual abstention of Muhaminadans from the Congress movement was largely due to the influence of Sir Saiyid Ahmad, and it is worth while to turn aside from the main course of my narrative in order to give some account of this great man.

Sir Saiyid Ahmad was born at Delhi in the year 1817 and belonged to a family of considerable note at the court of the Moghul Emperors. In the year 1837 he obtained a clerical post in the British service. Twenty years later he had risen to the position of a Subordinate Judge, and when the Mutiny broke out at Bijnor in these provinces he gave noble proofs of loyalty. “No language that I could use,” said a Lieutenant-Governor in subsequently referring to Saiyid Ahmad’s Mutiny services, “would be worthy of the devotion which he showed.”

In 1858 Sir Saiyid Ahmad wrote in Urdu an account of the causes of the revolt which was long afterwards translated and published in English. His appreciation

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\* These words may be compared with some sentences from a recent speech by Mr. B G. Tilak reported in the ‘Leader’ issue of October the 10th, 1917.

“They knew on what principle the bureaucracy governed India for the last 100 years. They were a self-governing nation before. They knew how to organize an army, they knew how to dispense justice, they had laws, regulations, etc. All those had been swept away, and now the bureaucracy said that they knew nothing about them. Who was responsible for that? Not the Indians.”

of British rule in India was by no means wholesale, and his criticisms deserve our careful consideration even now. It is remarkable that he attributed the outbreak largely to the absence of all Indians from the Supreme Legislative Council. "The evils," he wrote, "which resulted from the non-admission of natives into the Legislative Council were various. Government could never know the inadvisability of the laws and regulations which it passed. It could never hear the voice of the people on such a subject. The people had no means of protesting against what they might feel to be a foolish measure, or of giving public expression to their wishes. But the greatest mischief lay in this, that the people misunderstood the views and intentions of Government. They misapprehended every act, and whatever law was passed was misconstrued by men who had no share in the framing of it and hence no means of judging of its spirit . . . I wish to say that the views of Government were misconstrued by the people and that this misconstruction hurried on the rebellion. Had there been a native of Hindustan in the Legislative Council, the people would never have fallen into such errors . . . There was no real communication between the governors and the governed, no living together or near one another as has always been the custom of the Muhammadans in countries which they subjected to their rule. Government and its officials have never adopted this course without which no real knowledge of the people can be gained." Further on

he asserted : " Now in the first years of the British rule in India the people were heartily in favour of it.\* This good feeling the Government has now forsaken, and the natives very generally say that they are treated with contempt. A native gentleman is, in the eyes of any petty official, as much lower than that official as that same official esteems himself lower than a duke. The opinion of many of these officials is that no native can be a gentleman . . . There are many English officials who are well-known for their kindness and friendly feeling toward the natives, and these are in consequence much beloved by them, are, to use a native expression, as the sun and moon to them, and are pointed out as types of the old race of officials."†

After the Mutiny Saiyid Ahmad exerted himself strenuously to make peace between the Government and his co-religionists and to reform the Muhammadan educational system. Although his boyhood had known no other, he was convinced that the ordinary Muhammadan education was inadequate and out of date. " Cure the root," he said, " and the tree will flourish." He did all he could to " cure the root " and, at the age of 52, travelled to England to enter his son at Cambridge University and to see what measures were desirable for the establishment of a Muhammadan

\* See page 11.

† As it was in 1858, so it is now. There was always a golden age when the British civil servant in India was not the unsympathetic being that he has since become. And yet he generally wishes to be sympathetic.

Anglo-Oriental College in Upper India. This he finally accomplished, and the famous College at Aligarh is his abiding monument. While affording religious instruction to Muhammadans alone, it admits scholars of all faiths; and the whole attitude of its great founder, who frequently and strongly championed the tenets of Islam, was invariably tolerant and liberal. He rejoiced in the spread and growth of English education in India, believing that enlightenment meant loyalty to Britain. His spirit is reflected in the address presented to Lord Ripon in 1884 by the Aligarh College Committee which contains the following passage :—

“ The time has happily passed when the Muhammadans of India looked upon their condition as hopeless, when they regarded the past with feelings of mournful sorrow. Their hopes are now inclined to the promise of the future; their hearts, full of loyalty to the rule of the Queen-Empress, aspire to finding distinction and prominence among the various races of the vast Empire over which Her Majesty holds sway. It is to help the realization of these aspirations that this College has been founded; and we fervently hope that among the results which may flow from our system, of education not the least important will be the promotion of friendly feelings of social intercourse and interchange of amenities of life between the English community in India and the Muhammadan population.”

In spite of his strong liberal sympathies, Sir Saiyid Ahmad would have nothing to do with the Congress.

and advised his co-religionists to follow his example. Although he had his enemies and detractors, his influence was enormous and it determined the attitude of the great majority of his people. A Muhammadan of to-day has further attributed this attitude to three causes—

- (a) the violence of many publications distributed broadcast before the launching of the Congress ;
- (b) the excessive blandishments of the Congress leaders ;
- (c) the advocacy by the Congress of elective principles, and open competition, with no regard for minorities.

**Further history of the Congress movement.**

I now return to the Congress movement. In December, 1888, Lord Dufferin was succeeded in the Viceroyalty by Lord Lansdowne. At a farewell dinner in Calcutta he had referred to the Congress party as a “microscopic minority,” but he none the less was impressed by the movement and confidentially sent home proposals for liberalising the Legislative Councils, “which,” he wrote to the Secretary of State, “is all that the reasonable leaders even of the most advanced section of young India dream of.”

He was, however, dealing with wider ambitions. There was a strong demand for more general and higher employment in the Public Services, a belief that in this respect the educated classes were “dwarfed and stunted.” He had indeed appointed a Commission of

enquiry into this matter, but its recommendations were received some time after his departure and by no means pleased the advanced party.

The Congress of 1888 was attended by 1,248 delegates. Great efforts had been made by the leaders to stultify Lord Dufferin's estimate of their importance. Six Europeans attended, and the president was Mr. George Yule, a prominent Calcutta merchant, who complained that the British non-official class was disfranchised in India and had no more voice than Indians in the government of the country. Complaint was made by various speakers of the official attitude as needlessly unfriendly. The resolutions passed were on lines already described. Among other things, they recommended abolition of the distinctions created by the Arms Act, military colleges for natives of India, and an enquiry into the industrial condition of the country.

At the Sixth Congress, held at Calcutta in 1890, and attended by 702 delegates, including 156 Muhammadans, the Chairman of the Reception Committee welcomed the delegates in the following words : " It is perfectly correct that the ignorant classes whom we seek to represent are still unable in many provinces to take an active interest in the many social and administrative problems which are now engaging the attention of the educated classes ; but history teaches us that in all countries and in all ages it is the thinking who lead the unthinking and we are bound to think for ourselves and others who are still too ignorant to exercise that

important function." A speaker relied on some words of Mr. Gladstone to the effect that a man would be deemed mad who denounced the system of popular representation. Two other speakers alleged the existence of a political faith common to Hindus and Muhammadans. A note in the introduction to the printed account of the Congress proceedings observed, in regard to the alleged antagonism between the two communities: "We would like very much to know whether Great Britain herself is not divided into two sections, one of which is bitterly hostile to the other and desirous of opposing it on all occasions." The tone of the concluding passages of the same introduction was more antagonistic to British rule than any previous Congress utterance which has met my eyes. Acknowledgment was made during the meetings of the kind reception in England of certain delegates. The Congress was supplemented by a Social Conference.

**The attitude  
of Govern-  
ment.**

A question which arose in connection with this Congress elicited the following reply from the Viceroy's Private Secretary: "The Government of India recognise that the Congress movement is regarded as representing what would in Europe be called the advanced Liberal party, as distinguished from the great body of Conservative opinion which exists side by side with it. They desire themselves to maintain an attitude of neutrality in their relations with both parties, so long as these act strictly within their constitutional functions."

**Dissatisfaction of the Congress party with the Councils Act of 1892.**

In 1892 a new Councils Act was passed. Its provisions had been outlined by Lord Dufferin before his departure. It enlarged the Legislative Councils, conferring on local boards and corporations the right of recommending persons for appointment thereto, subject to the approval of the recommendations by Government. It safeguarded the authority of Government by leaving it a majority on each Council and by restricting the right of debate and of asking questions ; but it decidedly extended the application of the principle, first admitted in 1858, of associating prominent non-officials in legislation. The Congress of 1892 was dissatisfied and further expressed disappointment with the orders passed on the report of the Public Services Commission appointed by Lord Dufferin. About this time, the Congress Committee, which had been established in London and consisted mainly of English Radicals, started the periodical *India* for the promotion of Congress propaganda.

**The Congress after 1892.**

I have now traced in some detail the early history of the Congress movement, allowing its leaders to speak for themselves. I now propose to review briefly the period from 1892 to 1905.

The proceedings of the annual meetings during this period were similar in character to those which I have already described. As English-educated Indians multiplied, adherents of the Congress increased not only in the big cities but also in the smaller centres, the great majority coming from the classes which had initiated

the movement. Their collective attitude towards the British Government and British officials did not improve ; and although they did not seriously attempt to advance their main position, largely, no doubt, because the period in Britain was one of decided conservative ascendancy, they developed a practice of sending delegates to allege before British audiences the poverty of India, the exclusive and selfish character of the Administration, the need of popular government. It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that all the party really meant half they said. Many were prosperous under the existing order of things, were on friendly terms with European officials, and were perfectly well aware that strong and effective British control was essential for the welfare of the country. And many were capable of bringing Western political ideas into practical relation with the peculiar conditions of India, but were perhaps inclined to keep their least popular opinions to themselves. Muhammadans continued to hold aloof, as a body, from the movement, which in Bombay was affected by the doings of Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak. In view of the sympathy which the " sufferings " of this gentleman have excited among many of his countrymen and of his prominence in present-day politics, it is necessary to understand clearly how he came to suffer.

**Mr. Bal Gan-  
gadhar  
Tilak.**

Mr. Tilak, who long ago graduated with honours in the Bombay University, is a representative of the Chitpavan Brahmans, whose aspirations for establishing dominion on the ruins of the Moghul Empire had been

shattered by the British arms. He was one of the earliest Congress workers and became secretary of the standing committee for the Deccan. He also threw himself vigorously into journalism and first became prominent by opposition to the Age of Consent Bill which had been introduced to mitigate the evils of Hindu child-marriage. His learning in the Hindu scriptures and his readiness to assist his poorer countrymen in difficulties have combined with the remarkable incidents of his career to win for him in certain circles the title of Lokmaniya (honoured by the people). His Marathi journal, the *Kesari*, published at Poona, has always enjoyed a wide circulation. Largely through the influence of this paper a movement began, in 1895, for the repair of the tomb of Sivaji, a great Maratha hero who, more than two centuries ago, had killed a Muhammadan general named Afzal Khan during a conference before two armies. Later on this movement developed into commemoration of Sivaji by festivals or demonstrations and, in the columns of the *Kesari*, assumed a peculiar development at a highly critical time.

Famine had resulted from shortage of rain in 1896 and the plague had arrived at Bombay and spread to Poona. Famine and plague caused widespread distress and, according to invariable custom, the masses were inclined to blame their rulers. In order to arrest the spread of plague, the Bombay Government adopted measures which seemed to promise success but were

repugnant to the customs of the people and interfered with their home-life. Persons suffering from the disease were separated from persons not attacked, house-to-house visitations were resorted to, and in Poona it was for some time considered necessary to employ British soldiers on search parties. Popular feeling was keenly stirred, and on\* the 4th of May, 1897, Mr. Tilak, who had at first to some extent co-operated with Mr. Rand, the Plague Commissioner, published an article charging the British soldiers employed on plague duty with every sort of excess and imputing not merely to subordinate officials but to the whole Government itself a deliberate direction to oppress the people. He described Mr. Rand as tyrannical and stated that the Government was practising oppression. It was useless to petition the Supreme Government as from it the orders for oppression had emanated. On the 15th of the following month, he published two further articles in his paper. The first was a poem—"Sivaji's Utterances"—and represented Sivaji waking from his long sleep and deplored the present-day state of affairs in what had once been his kingdom. By annihilating the wicked he had lightened the great weight of the globe. He had delivered the country by establishing *Swarajya* (one's own government). Now foreigners were taking away the wealth of the country; plenty

\* The statements in this and the following pages are founded on the Judge's charge to the jury in the case Queen-Empress *versus* B. G. Tilak, 1897.

and health had fled; famine and epidemic disease stalked through the land. Brahmans were imprisoned. The cow was daily slaughtered. White men escaped justice by urging meaningless pleas. Women were dragged out of railway carriages. Sivaji had protected the English when they were traders and it was for them to show their gratitude by making his subjects happy.

The second article gave an account of lectures delivered by two professors on the murder of Afzal Khan by Sivaji. They argued that Sivaji was above the moral code. "Every Hindu, every Maratha," said one of the lecturers, "must rejoice at this Sivaji celebration. We are all striving to regain our lost independence." The other professor observed: "The people who took part in the French Revolution denied that they had committed murders and maintained that they were only removing thorns from their path. Why should not the same principle (argument) be applied to Maharashtra?" Finally came a discourse from Mr. Tilak, who said, after remarking that great men are above the common principles of morality, "Did Sivaji commit a sin in killing Afzal Khan or not?" The answer to this question can be found in the *Mahabharat*\* itself. Shrimat Krishna's advice in the *gita* is to kill even our own teachers and our kinsmen. No blame

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\* The *Mahabharat* is the famous Hindu epic. It contains the *Bhagwat-Gita*, or Lord's Song, recited by Krishna, an incarnation of the Preserver of the world, before the great Battle of Kurukshetra.

attaches to any person if he is doing deeds without being actuated by a desire to reap the fruits of his deeds. Shri Sivaji did nothing with a view to fill the small void of his own stomach. With benevolent intentions he murdered Afzal Khan for the good of others. If thieves enter our house and we have not sufficient strength to drive them out, we should, without hesitation, shut them up, and burn them alive. God has not conferred on *Mlenchas*, foreigners or barbarians, the grant inscribed on copper-plate of the kingdom of Hindustan.

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“Do not circumscribe your vision like a frog in a well. Get out of the Penal Code, enter into the extremely high atmosphere of the *Bhagwat-Gita* and then consider the actions of great men.”

There can be no reasonable doubt that these articles, circulating among an irritated and excited population at so critical a time, must have produced a profound impression. There is no evidence to connect them with what followed, but a week later Mr. Rand and another British officer were assassinated at Poona by a young Brahman, Damodar Chapekar, who said in a confession, subsequently retracted but believed by the court that tried him to be genuine, that “as the operations for the suppression of the plague were beginning to cause annoyance to the people and great oppression was caused by the soldiers, they determined to revenge these acts and to kill the chief man in charge of the plague operations.”

Damodar was hanged. Mr. Tilak was prosecuted for exciting disaffection and was sentenced to eighteen months' rigorous imprisonment, but six months of his sentence were subsequently remitted by Government. For a space he disappeared from the ranks of the Congress politicians ; but time was to show that his influence had been rather strengthened than impaired.

**The Congress  
and the  
Plague. The  
Congress  
Press.**

The criticisms of the Congress probably counted both in the appointment of a Commission which was to advise police reforms and in the improvements in the revenue system initiated and carried through by Lord Curzon. On the other hand, although the plague afforded the leaders of the movement an unique opportunity of standing forward and assisting Government to counteract the prejudiced hostility of their more ignorant countrymen to remedial measures, they took little or no advantage of this opportunity. Indeed some turned it to quite other purposes. And throughout the whole of this period the tone of the Congress press, the great body of Indian-owned newspapers, became more and more hostile to the form of British rule established by law. With monotonous regularity their readers were regaled with diatribes against the constitution and policy of the British Government. India was being drained of her resources ; India was being plundered and oppressed by aliens. This was the constant burden of a constantly repeated song varied now and then, when the occasion demanded caution, by conventional

phrases about the blessings of British rule. Grave stress was laid on the unfortunate fact that in 1894 the Government of India had been compelled by the Secretary of State to reduce the duty on Lancashire woven cotton goods from 5 to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. and to impose a countervailing excise duty of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on woven cotton fabrics manufactured in Indian mills. And over and over again were the doctrines preached that the peasantry\* were crushed by the land revenue demand, and that the country was exploited by foreign capital. I shall refer more fully to this last subject later on.

**The death of Queen Victoria. The Delhi Darbar of 1903 was the end of an era.**

The death of Queen Victoria profoundly affected general Indian sentiment; for it was believed by all classes that she had been genuinely attached to her Indian subjects, and at the time of the 1903 Darbar, which celebrated the accession of King Edward, the political barometer seemed steady. Yet in fact that Darbar marked the end of a comparatively restful era. Even then the varied events of the Boer War had damaged British military prestige; and within the next few years the triumphs of Japan and the advent to power of a great Liberal majority in England combined with the agitations over Lord Curzon's educational reforms and the partition of Bengal to work a marvellous

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\* We now hear less about the depression of the peasantry. The rains have been bountiful during recent years and abundant produce has commanded high prices. The end of the last century was marked by bad seasons and the rapid spread of plague with disastrous economic consequences.

change in the weather. Events followed which brought the Muhammadans organised into the political arena. But before describing these events, I will endeavour to explain briefly the excitement evoked by Lord Curzon's most famous measures.

**Lord Curzon's educational reforms.**

The results of the orders passed on the reports of the Indian Education and Public Services Commissions appointed by Lords Ripon and Dufferin had been in some measure disastrous to secondary education, especially in Bengal, where an excessive devolution of control to non-official agency had resulted in a serious lowering of standards. The Calcutta University Syndicate, which presided over English education in that province and regulated the standards of the examinations success in which qualified candidates for Government service, had exercised little control over secondary schools, leaving them largely to local committees. These committees consisted mainly of men of small ideas who only thought of providing sufficient teaching to meet examination requirements. Moral influences and training of character they comparatively disregarded ; and cutting down the cost of buildings, and salaries of school masters, to the lowest possible levels, they provided the cheapest instruction that they could contrive.\* Vainly did the Government

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\* The following passages from a speech by the Hindu head master of a high school show clearly the dangers of leaving Indian education to popular control :—

" This school owes its expansion more to the Government and the Government officials than to the general public, unless fees are regarded as a public contribution.

emphasise its view that it was "of little use to spend money on schools where the teachers were either

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"I make these remarks not because we fail to acknowledge the help received from the public but to emphasise the fact that the cause of the education of our nation's children occupies only a secondary place in the minds of the rich men and other people. We have yet to realise the full responsibility of educating our children. Many parents seem to feel absolved from all responsibility after sending their children to school, without enquiring whether the school concerned is a recognised institution or not. In Benares there have sprung up a number of schools from which the sanctity that should be attached to an educational institution is entirely absent and of which money-making seems to be the primary aim. The gullible parents are ready to pay exorbitant fees, and those also in advance for many months, when they are promised that their boys would be put up three or four classes above the one for which they were really fit. It must be acknowledged that this state of affairs calls for the necessity of opening more schools of an approved type. But I have to complain even against the parent, whose sons read in a recognised school for he too is alive to his responsibility only when a seat has to be secured for them—not an easy endeavour in these days—or perhaps when they fail to obtain promotion. Only lately I had an occasion to address a circular letter to the guardians of such students as failed in two subjects at the first periodical examination, with a view to conferring with them regarding the progress of their wards, but not more than 2 per cent cared to respond.

"When such is the apathy of the parents, the indifference at home must be great indeed. Far be it from me to attribute want of affection to the parents for their children, but this affection is more in evidence when you see the little one at school patronising the sweetmeat vendor than in properly regulating their life at home. The teacher hopes that his work would be supplemented with adequate supervision at home but the parents expect that a few hours at school should make their sons paragons of all virtues. To my mind one of the problems of education in India is to make the home of the child worth proper unison with his school. If this were done, many social, educational and, I dare say, even political difficulties could be solved and our boys would not be exposed to dangers, as unfortunately they are now."

inefficient or unable to maintain discipline or a healthy moral tone." No serious attempt was made to alter things, and grave abuses became increasingly apparent throughout the whole Indian school and university system. Lord Curzon determined to insist on thorough reforms. He threw all his energies into the task, appealing earnestly for non-official co-operation and emphasising the importance of the interests at stake. The education which is the necessary preliminary to all professional and industrial work was obviously a great national concern ; it was "the key to employment, the condition of all national advance and prosperity, and the sole stepping-stone for every class of the community to higher things." It was a social and political even more than an intellectual demand.

Unfortunately, however, the Congress leaders, partly because the existing state of things suited vested interests, and partly because they disliked Lord Curzon and suspected that his secret intention was to check the growing numbers of the restless English-educated classes, strenuously opposed the Viceroy and succeeded in impressing their ideas on the minds of many persons incapable of appreciating the realities of the situation. In spite of their opposition, Lord Curzon effected considerable reforms ; but he left India suddenly ; his work came to an abrupt termination ; and drastic improvement in secondary education has hung fire in Bengal from that day to this. The Viceroy's efforts had, however, produced a general restlessness among

the literary classes which was widened and deepened by the Partition agitation.

**The Partition agitation in Bengal.**

No one has ever seriously denied that the old Bengal, Bihar and Orissa Province was, by reason of its magnitude, an impossible, and, because impossible, a sadly-neglected, charge.

The Supreme Government had been slow to realise that times had altered since 1785, when Warren Hastings, reviewing his eventful administration, wrote that the submissive character of the people of this province, the fewness of their wants, "the abundant sources of subsistence and of trafficable wealth which may be drawn from the natural productions, and from the manufactures, both of established usage and of new institutions, left little to the duty of the magistrate ; in effect nothing but attention, protection, and forbearance." No soldiers of the Indian Army had been drawn from Bengal, and Bengalis had taken no share in the rebellion of 1857. But as prosperity and population increased, as English education spread, administration became more complex, and the character of the educated classes stiffened and altered. The charge of 78 millions of people, including the inhabitants of the largest and most Europeanised city in the East, was far too onerous for one provincial administration, and Lord Curzon's partition which divided the old province and Assam into the new provinces of Western Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and Eastern Bengal and Assam, was a much-needed measure. It came, however, at an unfortunate

time and was strongly opposed by the Congress leaders of Calcutta, the centre of the legal, educational and political activities of Bengali Hindus. Their objection was that the new arrangement split Bengal into two and ignored Bengali feeling. Enlisting ardent support from their coadjutors all over India, they organised demonstrations throughout Eastern and Western Bengal, proclaiming that Government wished to insult and efface Bengali nationality. This proclamation fell upon ears that were quick to hear. The revival of Hindu sentiment,\* which I have already noticed, had been recently stimulated in Bengal by the doings of a Bengali enthusiast, Swami Vivekananda, who had visited the Chicago Congress of Religions as a missionary of Hinduism, and had returned with a chosen band of eager followers from the West. He had died in 1902; but his words, inculcating nationalism and religion, had sunk deep into the minds of his countrymen and may be seen printed as texts on the walls of the rooms of many students in Bengal. Educated Hindu sentiment too had been profoundly stirred by the victories of Japan; and when the enemies of the partition began a serious campaign they spared no pains to avail themselves of the strong mixed current of uncritical emotion which lay waiting for a definite objective.

Newspapers and orators proclaimed that Bengal was a motherland once rich and famous, now oppressed and plundered by aliens. She was to be torn in two despite

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\* See page 21.

the protests of her children. As these sentimental appeals were ineffectual to excite sufficient Hindu sympathy, the leaders of the movement, searching for a national hero, endeavoured to import from Bombay the cult of Sivaji and appealed to the multitude by placing their efforts under the patronage of Kali, the goddess of destruction. A third device to which they resorted was borrowed from Europe. Years before a Bengali named Bankim Chandra had written a novel based on incursions by some bands of *sanyasis*, fanatical Hindu banditti, who in the year 1772, after a severe famine, had descended on Bengal, their ranks swollen by a crowd of starving peasants, and had obtained temporary successes against some Government levies under British officers. The novel contained a song which was adopted as a Marseillaise by the anti-Partitionists, and has since become famous as "Bande Mataram"—Hail Motherland! Its sentiment is expressed in the following lines :—

" We have no mother," sings the leader of the *Sanyasis*.

" We have no father, no brother, no wife, no child, no hearth, no home. We acknowledge nothing save the motherland.

" My Motherland I sing ; Thou art my head, Thou art my heart.

" My life and soul art Thou, my soul, my worship, and my art.

" Before Thy feet I bow."

From the context in the novel it seems that the *Sanyasi*'s appeal was rather to his mother's land, the land of Mother Kali, than to his motherland.\*

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\* See Appendix I.

“Bande Mataram” and other effusions of a more militant character were eagerly taken up by the masses of Hindu youths who thronged the numerous schools and colleges in Bengal under needy discontented teachers. Indeed it was to capture these facile instruments that the Calcutta leaders addressed their main efforts. ‘Swadeshi,’ or indigenous, industrial enterprises were hastily started; a boycott of foreign goods was proclaimed as the best and most effective weapon of retaliation for the Partition, and arrangements were made to carry out this boycott by persuasion, forcible if necessary, through the agency of schoolboys and students who were enrolled as “National Volunteers.” The whole agitation was Hindu and was strongly resented by the Muhammadans who form the majority in Eastern Bengal and had derived substantial and obvious advantages from the new arrangements. But the latter controlled no newspapers of importance and had few orators to voice their wishes. Lord Curzon had left India, the tide was rising, and the Partition agitation was affecting the Hindu tone in other parts of India, when the Conservative ministry in England was succeeded by the representatives of a mammoth Liberal majority. Mr. John Morley became Secretary of State for India. It was in these circumstances that the Congress of 1905 met at Benares.

## CHAPTER III.

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### POLITICAL MOVEMENTS—SECOND STAGE.

**The Congress  
of 1905.**

THE Twenty-first Congress, held at Benares in December, 1905, was attended by 756 delegates, of whom 718 were Hindus, 17 were Muhammadans, and 14 were Sikhs. The tone of the introductory note to the printed record of proceedings is notably aggressive. India was declared to be “distracted, discontented, despondent, the victim of many misfortunes, political and others;” the “cup of national indignation had been filled to overflowing by the Partition designed to break down the political power and influence of the educated opinion of Bengal.” The rise of Japan had, however, it was said, produced a great moral impression, and a new epoch had begun in the work of political regeneration and emancipation not only for Bengal but for all India. The service of the motherland would become “as great and overmastering a passion as in Japan.”

The late Mr. Gokhale, a Chitpavan\* Brahman of great intellectual power, was elected President. He justified the boycott and declared that the time was sensibly nearer when the bureaucratic monopoly of power could be successfully assailed. He asked for a proportion of one-half elected members in all the Councils, for an extension of Council privileges, and for the appointment of three Indians to the Council of the Secretary of

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\* It will be remembered that Mr. Tilak too is a Chitpavan Brahman. (See page 41.)

State. He considered that the time was auspicious for these demands. Mr. John Morley was at the India Office, and "our heart hopes and yet trembles as it has never yet hoped and trembled before."

Bitter complaint was made of the treatment of Indians in the British colonies—a grievance of some standing even then—and of the recent educational policy of the Government of India. Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, the principal representative of Bengal, commended "the pluck and heroism" of the young anti-Partitionists, whom he termed "the pillars of the popular movement." He eulogised "the sufferings of our young martyrs," referring to the students and schoolboys who had been judicially punished for using violence in boycott disturbances and remarked that "the blood of the martyrs is the cement of the Church." He referred to the rising sun of Japan.

#### Events of 1906-7.

The anti-partition movement was sedulously encouraged by a small section of the Radical majority in the British Parliament; and in the new province of Eastern Bengal things grew worse during 1906. Relations between the Hindus, who wanted the boycott, and the Muhammadans, who did not, became increasingly bitter; and in both Bengals inflammatory newspapers and speeches intensified Hindu feeling against the British Government. The Indian army takes no recruits from this part of the country and the villages contain no sobering element of pensioned soldiers who are acquainted with the realities of British power. Few

of the village people outside Calcutta had seen British troops, and many in the remote water-logged under-administered districts of Eastern Bengal were encouraged by the lawlessness of the agitators and the forbearance of Government to believe that the days of British rule were drawing to an end. Boycott and picketing frequently ended in disturbances in which schoolboys and teachers were prominent.

The Congress of 1906 apparently regarded this state of things with complacent satisfaction, for it not only again justified the boycott and requested annulment of the Partition, but formulated another demand with which we are now familiar, "that the system of government obtaining in the self-governing British colonies shall be extended to India." As preliminaries, such reforms as simultaneous examinations for the Civil Service and considerably enlarged Legislative Councils should be immediately instituted. In the presidential address of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, after an appeal to the Muhammadans for co-operation, occurred the following words : "Once self-government is attained, there will be prosperity enough for all, but not till then." He thought that union therefore of all the people for their emancipation is an absolute necessity. "Agitation," he considered, "is the life and soul of the whole political, social, and industrial history of England. The life of England is all agitation . . . Agitation is the civilised peaceful weapon of moral force and infinitely preferable to brute physical force, when

possible. Agitate, agitate over the whole length and breadth of India, peacefully of course, if we mean really to get justice from John Bull. Satisfy him that we are in earnest. The Bengalis, I am glad, have learnt the lesson and led the march . . . Agitate means inform. Inform the Indian people what their rights are and why and how they should obtain them."

Mr. Naoroji ignored the important fact that agitation in homogeneous England does not mean the exacerbation of colour-feeling, of racial jealousy and hatred. In India it generally means this.

Evolution of  
the Congress  
into Mod-  
erates and  
Extremists.

As a matter of fact, however, those leaders of the Congress movement who had not become intoxicated with excitement and racial animosity had before this meeting begun to see that things were going too far. It seems probable too that some at least knew that behind all the whirlwind of passion in Bengal, behind the schools and colleges which were developing into seed-beds of sedition, behind the pamphlets and newspapers which were disseminating hatred and bitterness far and wide, the ground was being prepared by desperate spirits for even more serious doings. This the Government did not realize. The movement was persistently misunderstood or misrepresented by its friends in England. It had not touched the fighting races or the fighting castes, and the main grievance was sentimental. Few anticipated that it would lead to actual bloodshed.\* Fewer dreamt that it would bring

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\*A loyal Bengali gentleman once told the author that he was so amazed by the first outrages that he refused to credit them.

forth an unending series of violent and abominable crimes, or that, in a country where sons closely adhere to the occupations of their fathers, the sons of clerks, lawyers, and school masters would, under the influence of sentiment and vague idealism, abjure the ambitions of their class and drill with daggers and pistols ; and indeed it is certain that had these young men and boys ever known the firm discipline and intelligent supervision, in and out of study hours, which were part of our own early training, they would not have fallen so easy a prey to the plots of unscrupulous fanatics.

But although the more reasonable and moderate members of the Congress of 1906 wished to call a halt, they had not the resolution to separate from their more intemperate and thorough-going colleagues who, led by Mr. Tilak,\* were acquiring the title of Extremists. In March, 1907, the Viceroy publicly announced that he had sent home a despatch to the Secretary of State proposing administrative reforms on a liberal basis. About the same time serious disturbances occurred in the Punjab. In that province Arya Samajists are numerous and the large cities contain many Bengali immigrants. Attempts were made to tamper with Sikh and Jat regiments, and two leading Arya Samajists were deported. In Bengal things were growing worse. Revolutionary societies, composed mainly of youths belonging to respectable and educated families, were studying the use of pistols and explosives. Publications were industriously circulated which, as

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\*See pages 46 and 47.

there is conclusive evidence to show, enormously excited Hindu opinion. The most famous of these was the *Yugantar*\* newspaper, which from 1906 to July, 1907, when its first editor went to prison, poured forth passages exhibiting, as a Judge afterwards said, "a burning hatred of the British race." This paper was not finally suppressed till 1908. The mischief that it did is incalculable.

In December the Congress met at Surat. There at last the Moderates and Extremists quarrelled and separated amid scenes of riot and confusion. The chief Moderates on this memorable occasion were Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee. The Extremist leaders were Mr. Tilak and Mr. Arabindo Ghose. Bombay and Bengal led on each side. Both the Extremist chiefs a few months afterwards stood in the dock. Two English ladies had been assassinated by a Bengali bomb-thrower who intended his missile for an English Magistrate, who in the course of his duty had rendered himself obnoxious to the Bengal Extremists. Articles were published by Mr. Tilak in the *Kesari* to the effect that the murders were the result of oppression and of the refusal of "*Swaraj*." The language and spirit of these articles necessitated Mr. Tilak's prosecution. He was tried for attempting to bring the Government established by law into hatred and contempt, and for endeavouring to promote enmity and hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subjects. He was convicted and sentenced to six years' imprisonment by Mr. Justice Davar,

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\* New Era.

an Indian, and Mr. Tilak's junior counsel in the trial of 1897. The articles were thus described by the Judge in passing sentence: "They are seething with sedition ; they preach violence ; they speak of murders with approval ; and the cowardly and atrocious act of committing murders by bombs not only seems to meet with your approval but you hail the advent of the bomb in India as if something had come to India for its good. As I said, it would only be a diseased and perverted mind that could consider that bombs are legitimate instruments in political agitation and it would be a diseased mind that could ever have thought that the articles that you have written could be legitimately written. Your hatred of the ruling class has not disappeared during these ten years, and these articles, deliberately and defiantly written week after week—not written, as you say, on the spur of the moment but a fortnight after the cruel and cowardly outrages committed on Englishwomen—persistently and defiantly refer to a bomb as if it was one of the instruments of political warfare. I say such journalism is a curse to the country."

Mr. Arabindo Ghose was acquitted of participation in a murderous revolutionary conspiracy, which brought a sentence of transportation for life to his brother, Barindra, but he has since found it advisable to take up his residence outside British India.

**The fruits of Extremism.** Not long after the Surat incidents the theories of the Extremists bore fruit in shocking outrages.

Reference has already been made to the murder of two English ladies ; and after this horrible event the arrest of a number of young men in a garden in Maniktollah, a suburb of Calcutta, and their subsequent trial ended in the conviction of 19 out of 36 accused, and in the disclosure of an elaborate conspiracy for securing the liberation of India through the "easily aroused and misdirected ardour of youth." It was shown that the convicts had, for over two years, launched on the public a highly inflammatory propaganda ; they had collected arms and ammunition ; they had studied bombs. The following words of the Sessions Judge show how the licence of the Press had assisted their purpose :—

"There can be no doubt that the majority of the witnesses . . . . . are in sympathy with the accused. I do not say with their motives, but with their objects ; and it is only natural that they should be. Their natural desire for independence was not likely to be weakened by the constant vilification in season and out of season of Government measures, not only by the Yellow Press but by papers which claim to be respectable."

Temper of  
the early re-  
volutionaries  
and their  
followers.

The Maniktollah conspirators were for the most part men of good education. Their leader, Barindra, was born in England. His faith was apparently this. He considered that Hindu manhood was stunted and Hindu religion was losing its vitality under foreign rule. To strive without scruple or intermission for the

expulsion of the foreigners was therefore a duty which sanctified any means whereby the object might be achieved. It could be achieved eventually by sedulous diffusion of revolutionary propaganda, by removing the confidence of the people in their foreign rulers, and by a widespread concentration of determined effort. The struggle might be long, but was worth undertaking.

Such were the original leaders and organisers of the Bengal revolutionary movement; but many of their followers were more ordinary men, and many were students and schoolboys. Aided by inflammatory newspapers, the conspirators enormously impressed the youth of Bengal and some sections of the people of Calcutta. The cruel and inhuman nature of successive crimes was ignored in admiration for criminals who had shown that Bengalis could follow plots into action, could risk their lives for a cause. A single instance of this perverted hero-worship may be quoted. One of the conspirators, a graduate of the Dupleix College, Chandernagore, named Kanai Lal Datt, was executed for the murder of an associate who had turned informer. His body was handed over to his relatives and was cremated. The obsequies were accompanied by such fervid and sensational scenes that not long afterwards a Bengali youth falsely confessed to the murder of a police sub-inspector because he desired to have a funeral like Kanai's.

Its violence  
underrated.  
Unfortunate  
consequences.

The newspaper *India*, the organ of the British committee of the Congress, thus commented on the split of 1907: "If the young men are throwing in their lot

with Mr. Tilak and have ceased to believe in the promises of Englishmen, Englishmen have only themselves to thank for it. When Mr. Morley came into office two years ago, he had the ball at his feet. The party of Extremists existed, it is true, but it had neither numbers nor influence. A policy of concession and conciliation was needed to disarm them. It was deliberately ignored." These words, however, do not truly describe the situation. Lord Morley's policy *was* a policy of concession and conciliation. Reforms had been incubating for some time, and the attitude of the Indian and Home Governments toward the Partition agitation and its accompaniments had been remarkably forbearing under exceptional provocation. There can be little doubt that preventive measures would have been far more stringent had not the depth and violence of the movement been greatly underrated by the highest authorities. The agitators and their disciples belonged to the peaceable castes, and even persons who were well acquainted with Bengal failed to realize the remarkable influence of three factors : (a) the triumph of Japan over Russia ; (b) the new nationalism and carefully-instilled racial hatred ; (c) the wild desire to do something to show that Bengalis were not the spiritless, unwarlike people of historical tradition.

The results of those early miscalculations are now in operation. Terrorism is still active in Bengal. Political dacoities and assassinations still occur intermittently, and criminal organizations still attract an unceasing flow of

youthful recruits.\* This lamentable state of things is largely due to the lack of decent teachers and proper discipline in the Bengal schools and colleges, as well as to the propagation in these hapless institutions first of boycott politics by some of the leaders of the anti-Partition agitation and then of rebellion and anarchy by the organisers of secret societies.† How extensive and how mischievous the ramifications of these associations have been, may be judged from the fact that the Dacca Society alone established 500 branches consisting mainly of educated young men and boys, many under fifteen years of age. Although Bengal was, and is, the main theatre of revolutionary operations, these have not been confined to that part of India. Encouraged by sympathisers and instigators in Europe and America, they have spread elsewhere. But it is no part of my purpose to discuss them further. It was necessary to show how they began. They owe their origin to the theories of Extremism and to the early failure of

\* "It is essential that everyone should realise that it is in the highest interests, not of government alone but of the people of Bengal, that the criminal activities of these misguided persons should cease. Let all parents, guardians, brothers, friends, whenever opportunity offers, adopt the nobler way of weaning those misguided youths, whose imagination has been lit with the torch of a false patriotism, from the broad highway that leads to dishonour and disaster."—*Speech by the Governor of Bengal at Dacca on July the 25th, 1917.*

† One of their most effective methods has been the propagation of revolutionary literature, cheap editions of the lives of Mazzini and Garibaldi, and other more directly inflammatory publications.

Authority to appreciate the gravity and danger of the revolutionary movement.

Before proceeding further with the history of Hindu political movements, it is necessary to give some account of the foundation of the Muslim League.

**Foundation  
of the Mus-  
lim League.**

Sir Saiyid Ahmad had died in 1898, shortly after rendering a last valuable service to the British Government. In order to combat pan-Islamic sentiment excited by the Greco-Turkish War, he contributed articles to the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* exposing the hollowness of the pretensions of Sultan Abdul Hamid to the Khalifat, (i.e. the temporal and spiritual succession to the Prophet Muhammad)\* and preaching loyalty to the British rulers of India even if they were "compelled to pursue an unfriendly policy toward Turkey." A great leader had passed from Muhammadan India and left no successor. Times, too, were changed, and new problems had arisen. The Muhammadans had become uneasy as to the place which they would occupy in the reforms which were under discussion in 1906 ; and on October the 1st of that year their principal leaders, headed by His Highness the Agha Khan, presented an address to the Viceroy gratefully acknowledging the peace, security, and liberty of person and worship conferred by the British Government and emphasising the fact that one of the most important characteristics of British rule was the deference paid to the views and wishes of all races and religions. The object of the deputation was to present

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\* See appendix II.

the claims of 62 millions of Muhammadans to a fair share in any modified system of representation that might be contemplated, the share to be commensurate with their numbers *and political importance*. Representative institutions of the European type were new to Indians, and, in the absence of the greatest caution, dangerous to their national interests. The deputation deprecated a system of individual enfranchisement and complained of the monopoly of official influence by one class, pointing out that no Muhammadan Judge sat in any Supreme Court. Continuing, the address urged the need of a Muhammadan university and insisted on the importance of local boards and municipalities as the basis of all local self-government.

The Viceroy replied that "although British ideas must prevail they must not carry with them an impracticable insistence on the acceptance of political methods. . . . You justly claim that your position should be estimated not merely on your numerical strength, but in respect of the political importance of your community and the service it has rendered to the Empire. I am in accordance with you."

The Muslim League then came gradually into widespread existence. Meetings were held at Dacca in 1906 at the invitation of the late Nawab Salim-ullah Khan, who was making a strong stand for law and order in Eastern Bengal, and at Karachi in 1907 under Sir Adamjee Peerbhoy. The resolutions passed related to adequate Muslim representation in the new Councils,

to Muslim places in the public service, and to Muslim loyalty. In March, 1908, a meeting was held at Aligarh under the presidency of the Agha Khan. A branch had been started in London under the Hon'ble Mr. Amir Ali. The principles of the promoters of the League were thus expounded in a letter addressed by the Agha Khan to a meeting of the Deccan branch. He wrote that amid much that was good in India, they saw a growing indiscipline and contempt for authority, a striving after change without perceiving whither change would lead, and the setting up of false and impracticable constitutional ideas. No man who loved his country as the Indian Muslims did could stand idly by and see India drifting irrevocably to disaster. Prosperity and contentment could only be reached by processes of development and evolution working on natural lines. These processes required the existence of a strong, just, and stable Government, a Government securing justice and equal opportunity to all, minorities as well as majorities. It was the duty of all patriots to strengthen British control under which had been effected the amazing progress of a century.

**The King's  
Proclama-  
tion of 1908  
and Lord  
Morley's Re-  
forms.**

The Muhammadan representations came none too soon, for, on November the 2nd, 1908, the fiftieth anniversary of Queen Victoria's Proclamation, King Edward VII issued a second Proclamation to the Princes and people of India. It claimed that "the incorporation of many strangely diversified communities and of some three hundred millions of the human race,

under British guidance and control, has proceeded steadfastly and without pause; that difficulties such as attend all human rule had been faced by servants of the British Crown with toil and courage and patience, with deep counsel and a resolution that has never faltered nor shaken." It undertook to repress anarchy and to take continuously steps towards obliterating distinctions of race as the test for access to posts of public authority. It announced that the time had come to "prudently extend the principle of representative institutions." It foreshadowed reforms in "politic satisfaction" of the claims of important classes "representing ideas that have been fostered and encouraged by British rule."

These reforms were announced by Lord Morley on the 17th of the following month. They had been under consideration for two years and every effort had been made to gauge the trend of public opinion and to consult all interests concerned. The reforms were on a large and generous scale. The Legislative Councils were greatly enlarged. The Provincial Councils were given non-official majorities. So far the nearest approach to the election of non-official members had been nominations by Government upon the recommendations of majorities of the voters on certain public bodies. Now Parliament was asked, "in a very definite way, to introduce election working alongside of nomination with a view to the due representation of the different classes of the community." Any member was to be allowed to divide his Legislative Council on

financial questions, and all such Councils were to be invested with power to discuss matters of public and general importance and to pass recommendations or resolutions to the Executive Government.\* The Government would deal with such resolutions as they thought fit. Further, the Executive Councils of the Supreme and Subordinate Governments were to receive Indian members. Lord Morley had already appointed two Indians, one Hindu and one Muhammadan, to the Council of the Secretary of State. His reforms were, with slight variations, accepted by both Houses. In explaining them he took pains to disclaim all intention of inaugurating a system of parliamentary government in India. Such a system he apparently considered unsuited to Indian conditions and for this reason, while conceding non-official majorities in the Provincial Legislative Councils, he retained the official majority in the Imperial Council. He explained this distinction in the following words: "But in the Imperial Council we consider an official majority essential. It may be said that this is a most flagrant logical inconsistency. So it would be on one condition. If I were attempting to set up a parliamentary system in India, or if it could be said that this chapter of reforms led directly or indirectly to the establishment of a parliamentary system in India, I, for one, would have nothing at all to do with it. I do not believe—it is not of very great

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\* This concession was subsequently described by Mr. Gokhale as "the most important part of the reform of the Legislative Councils." His prescience has been justified by experience.

consequence what I believe, because the fulfilment of my vaticinations could not come off very soon—in spite of the attempts in Oriental countries at this moment, interesting attempts to which we all wish well, to set up some sort of parliamentary system—it is no ambition of mine at all events to have any share in beginning that operation in India. If my existence, either officially or corporeally were to be prolonged twenty times longer than either of them is likely to be, a parliamentary system in India is not at all the goal to which I would for one moment aspire."

It is, however, not surprising that the reforms were regarded by Indian politicians as a decided step toward parliamentary government, for it is difficult to reconcile Lord Morley's words with his establishment of non-official majorities in the provincial Legislative Councils, or with his policy of prudently extending "the principle of representative institutions." The most trenchant criticism of the new measures may be quoted in full\* :—

"I wonder how these changes will, in the last resort, affect the great mass of the people of India, the people who have no vote and have scarcely a voice. Remember that to these people, representative government and electoral institutions are nothing whatever. The good government that appeals to them is the government which protects them from the rapacious money-lender and landlord, from the local *vakil*, and all the other sharks in human disguise who prey upon

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\* Lord Curzon in the House of Lords, February the 23rd, 1909.

these unfortunate people. I have a misgiving that this class will not fare much better under these changes than they do now. At any rate I see no place for them in these enlarged Councils which are to be created, and I am under the strong opinion that as government in India becomes more and more parliamentary—as will be the inevitable result—so it will become less paternal and less beneficent to the poorer classes of the population."

**Reception accorded to them.** The reception accorded to these reforms by the Congress, now purged of Extremists, was enthusiastic. A Bengali deputation to the Viceroy presented an address containing the following passage : " It is a step worthy of the noble traditions of the Government which has given us liberty of thought and of speech, high education, and local self-government." The late Mr. Gokhale, the leader of the Congress Moderates, whose point of view and outlook had decidedly altered since December, 1906, spoke of " the generous and fair nature " of the reforms and urged that they should be gratefully accepted. Co-operation with Government must take the place of mere criticism of Government. *The attitude of constant antagonism must be abandoned.* Hindus, Muhammadans, and Parsis were mostly a dreamy race, and the Hindus were especially so.\* But

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\* Mr. Gokhale continued in the following strain :—

" I admit the importance of dreams in shaping our aspirations ; but in practical matters we have to be practical men and remember two things. Life is not like writing on a clean slate. We have to take the words existing on the slate and add other words so as to make complete sentences and produce a

all must no longer pursue mere dreamy things and neglect present opportunities. The path of their growth was now fixed.

The Muhammadans, however, asked for representation in excess of their numerical strength, and arrangements were made to meet their wishes in accordance with the undertaking given by Lord Minto and subsequently endorsed by Lord Morley in the House of Lords on the 23rd of February, 1909.

For this and other reasons the regulations which were framed in India to carry into effect the intentions of the British Parliament failed in some measure to give complete satisfaction to advanced Hindus. Still, on the whole, all reasonable Progressives were delighted, and the Conservative classes, whose interests had been carefully considered in the regulations, were pleased with the stir and novelty of the new order of things.

**Progress of Extremism.  
Mr. Gokhale's firm stand.**

The partition of Bengal, however, was still denounced by the Bengali moderate leaders: and on the stream of anarchic crime the reforms produced no effect. The police had been strengthened in Bengal and remedial measures were adopted; but it was plain to all that the seed so long sown among the youth of the country by deliberate propaganda and poisonous newspapers was still bearing abundant fruit. At Poona,

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harmonious meaning. Secondly, whatever you may ask for is not the same thing as that which you will get, or will be qualified to, in practice, maintain if you get."

on the 8th of July, 1909, Mr. Gokhale again urged loyal acquiescence in British rule for two reasons: one that, considering the difficulties of the position, Britain had done very well in India, the other that there was no alternative to British rule and could be none for a long time. . . . They could proceed in two directions: first toward an obliteration of distinctions, on the grounds of race, between individual Indians and individual Englishmen, and second by way of advance toward the form of government enjoyed in other parts of the Empire. *The latter was an ideal for which the Indian people had to qualify themselves, for the whole question turned on character and capacity, and they must realise that their main difficulties lay with themselves.*\* Again, at Bombay on October the 9th of the same year, in addressing the Students' Brotherhood, he strongly denounced the active participation of students in politics, and the tactics and objects of the Extremists, in the following memorable terms: "The active participation of students in political agitation really tends to lower the dignity and the responsible character of public life

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\* Mr. Gokhale had already founded the "Servants of India" society, the objects of which are 'to train national missionaries for the Service of India and to promote by all constitutional means the trade interests of the Indian people.' The members of the society are bound to accept the British connexion, and to recognise that Self-government within the Empire and a higher life for their countrymen constitute an end which cannot be attained without years of patient effort and building up in the country a higher type of character and capacity than is generally available at present. But in these days of unceasing cries for political reform, very little indeed is heard about social reform.

and impair its true effectiveness. It also fills the students themselves with unhealthy excitement, often evoking in them a bitter partisan spirit which cannot fail to interfere with their studies and prove injurious to their intellectual and moral growth. . . . I venture to think that a stage has been reached in our affairs when it is necessary for us to face resolutely our responsibilities in this matter. Everyone knows that during the past few years, a new school of political thought has arisen in the country and that it has exercised a powerful fascination over the minds of young men more or less in all parts of India. A considerable part of what it has preached could not but find ready acceptance on every hand, that love of country should be a ruling principle of our lives ; that we should rejoice in making sacrifices for her sake ; that we should rely, wherever we could, on our own exertions . . . side by side with this undoubtedly valuable work, the new party gave to the country a great deal of what could only be regarded as unsound political teaching. That teaching was in the first instance directed to the destruction of the very foundations of the old public life of the country. But once started, it could not be confined to that object, and in course of time, it came to be applied generally. Its chief error lies in ignoring all historical considerations and tracing our political troubles to the existence of a foreign Government in the country. Our old public life was based on frank and loyal acceptance of British

rule, due to a recognition of the fact that it alone could secure to the country the peace and order which were necessary for slowly evolving a nation out of the heterogeneous elements of which India was composed, and for ensuring to it a steady advance in different directions. The new teaching condemns all faith in the British Government as childish and all hope of real progress under it as vain. . . . Our general lack of political judgment is also responsible for the large measure of acceptance which it ' (the new teaching) ' received. Not many of us care to think for ourselves in political matters, or, for the matter of that, in any public matters. Ready-made opinions are as convenient as ready-made clothes and not so noticeable. . . . I think those of our public men who realise the harm which the new teaching has done, have not so far done their duty by the student community of this country . . . I feel that it is now incumbent on us to speak out freely. As I have said, the self-reliance which is part of the new propaganda cannot but be acceptable to all. It is in regard to the attitude toward the Government which the programme advocates that the need for a protest and a warning arises . . . When one talks to young men of independence in a country like this, only two ideas are likely to present themselves clearly before their minds. One is how to get rid of the foreigner and the other is how soon to get rid of him. All else must appear to them as comparatively of minor importance . . . . We have to

recognise that British rule, in spite of its inevitable drawbacks as a foreign rule, has been on the whole a great instrument of progress for our people. *Its continuance means the continuance of that peace and order which it alone can maintain in our country and with which our best interests, among them, those of our growing nationality, are bound up . . . Our rulers stand pledged to extend to us equality of treatment with themselves.* This equality is to be sought in two fields : equality for individual Indians with individual Englishmen, and equality in regard to the form of government which Englishmen enjoy in other parts of the Empire. The attainment of full equality with Englishmen, if ever it is accomplished, is bound to be a slow and weary affair. But one thing is clear. It is both our right and our duty to press along this road, and, further, good faith requires that we should not think of taking any other. Of the twofold equality we have to seek with Englishmen, the first, though difficult of attainment, is not so difficult as the second. For it is possible to find in this country a fair number of Indians who in character and capacity could hold their own against individual Englishmen. But the attainment of a democratic form of self-government such as obtains in other parts of the Empire must depend upon the average strength in character and capacity of our people, taken as a whole, for it is on our average strength that the weight of the edifice of self-government will have to rest.\*

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\* "Democracy is the most delicate form of human government. None suffers so swiftly or so surely from any shortage in

And here it must be regretfully admitted that our average strength to-day is far below the British average. The most important work before us, therefore, is to endeavour to raise this average. There is work enough for the most enthusiastic lover of his country. In fact on every side, whichever way we turn, only one sight meets the eye—that of work to be done—and only one cry is heard—that there are but few faithful workers. The elevation of the depressed classes, who have to be brought up to the level of the rest of our people, universal elementary education, co-operation, improvement of the economic condition of the peasantry, higher education of women, spread of industrial and technical education and building up the industrial strength of the country, promotion of closer relations between the different communities—these are some of the tasks which lie in front of us, and each needs a whole army of devoted missionaries."

Unfortunately, however, revolutionary teaching and revolutionary crime had passed beyond the stage at which any words, even of Mr. Gokhale's, could avail to arrest them.

**Influence of the Ruling Chiefs.** So ominous was the outlook at this time that the Viceroy took the unusual step of communicating direct with the Ruling Chiefs on the subject of the active unrest prevalent in various parts of India, and invited

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the crop of character. There is none so dependent on men and so little capable of being supported by the machine."—"Ordeal by Battle."

an exchange of opinions "with a view to mutual co-operation against a common danger."\* The replies which he received were both sympathetic and suggestive, the majority strongly recommending the necessity of checking the licence of the Indian press to which they attributed the responsibility for the widening of the gulf between the rulers and the ruled. The reply of the Raja of Dewas is worth quoting : " It is a well-known fact that the endeavours of the seditious party are directed not only against the Paramount Power, but against all constituted forms of government in India, through an absolutely misunderstood sense of patriotism, and through an attachment to the popular idea of government by the people, when every level-headed Indian must admit that India generally has not in any way shown its fitness for a popular government."

The replies of the Chiefs contributed toward the passing of that long-needed and long-deferred measure, the Indian Press Act, by the newly-constituted Imperial Legislative Council in February, 1910. In fact their attitude, both then and since, intensified by the impressions of the Royal Visit, has been of very great assistance to the British Government. Lord Morley had said in Parliament in 1906 : " I sometimes think that we make a mistake in not attaching the weight we ought to to these powerful Princes as standing forces in India ; " but he had not accepted a proposal of Lord Minto's

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\* The Revolutionaries had themselves addressed a menacing appeal to the Chiefs in the pamphlet, " Choose, Oh ye Princes ! "

Government for the institution of an advisory Council of Ruling Chiefs and territorial magnates. It is of course arguable that Ruling Chiefs can have nothing to do with affairs in British India, yet these affairs may most seriously affect the position of Ruling Chiefs.

The years  
1910 and  
1911. The  
Darbar  
changes.

The firm loyalty of the Princes, the Reforms and the altered attitude of the purified Congress party, the Press Act,\* and other repressive measures, the breaking-up and bringing to trial of two notorious gangs of anarchist conspirators in Calcutta and Dacca—all combined to make the last year of Lord Minto's Viceroyalty comparatively peaceful. The Congress of December, 1910, presided over by Sir William Wedderburn, although demanding that certain salutary repressive Acts be removed from the Statute book and protesting strongly against the treatment of Indians in British colonies, was a quiet gathering. Three leading Muhammadans of a new school, which was to become prominent later, attended. For the first time an address of welcome was presented to a Viceroy. He was asked to show clemency to all purely political offenders, and the Extremists were entreated to return to the Congress fold. The partition of Bengal was denounced by a Bengali. The President proposed a conference of Hindus and Muhammadans, in order to effect a *rapprochement*.

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\* The Press Act is not by any means a severe measure. It imposes no censorship; it practically substitutes forfeiture of security for criminal prosecution, and while conceding a certain amount to executive discretion, it tempers that discretion by making orders of forfeiture appealable to a High Court.

But this never met, though delegates were appointed, because the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, a prominent Brahman politician of the United Provinces, moved a resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council requesting the abolition of all separate representation of Muhammadans on councils and local boards. He was opposed by Mr. Gokhale and by the Home Member of the Government of India, who said that the fullest and clearest pledges had been given to the Muhammadans "that they should have separate representation."

The year 1911 was marked by some degree of trouble in Bengal ; but everywhere else things were quiet, and people generally waited expectantly for the Royal Visit, which went off with brilliant success and has worked for good ever since, bringing the gracious and sympathetic personalities of Their Majesties, as Sovereigns of India, closely home to all classes.

The partition of Bengal was altered in a manner that gratified Congress sentiment and the Capital was removed from Calcutta to Delhi. In the despatch from the Government of India to the Secretary of State proposing these changes for sanction, occurred a passage which advocated a policy of provincial decentralization and widening self-government, "until India would at last consist of a number of administrations autonomous in all provincial matters, with the Government of India above them all, possessing power to interfere in cases of misgovernment, but ordinarily restricting their functions to matters of Imperial concern."

**A subsequent development.**

When the papers were published, this passage was interpreted by advanced Indians as clearly foreshadowing self-government on colonial lines. This idea, however, was expressly disclaimed in Parliament by Lord Crewe, then Secretary of State, on 24th June, 1912, in the following words : " There is a certain section in India which looks forward to a measure of self-government approaching that which has been granted in the Dominions. I see no future for India on these lines. The experiment of extending a measure of self-government practically free from parliamentary control to a race which is not our own, even though that race enjoys the services of the best men belonging to our race, is one which cannot be tried. It is my duty as Secretary of State to repudiate the idea that the despatch implies anything of the kind as the hope or goal of the policy of Government.

" At the same time I think it is the duty of the nation, and of the Government for the time being of the nation, to encourage in every possible way the desire of the inhabitants of India to take a further share in the management of their country." Again, he said, on 29th June, 1912 : " There is nothing whatever in the teachings of history, so far as I know them, or in the present condition of the world which makes such a dream" (as complete self-government within the British Empire) " even remotely probable . . . Is it conceivable that at any time an Indian Empire could exist, on the lines, say, of Australia and New Zealand,

with no British officials, and no tie of creed and blood which takes the place of these material bonds ? There are some high-minded men who believe that it is possible to secure in India, under such conditions, the continual presence, influence, and service of men of British blood, with no prospect of any violent rupture between the races of the different countries. To me that is a world as imaginary as any Atlantis or any that was ever thought of by the ingenious brain of any imaginative writer . . . I venture to think that it is only those who think less of service and more of distinction who would lose heart if they braced themselves to set aside this vision altogether and to settle down to closer co-operation with the Western race, to which they can teach much, and from which they can learn much, in co-operation for the moral and material bettering of the country to which they are so deeply attached and of which we are so proud to be governors."

In spite of this advice the Congress leaders preferred to adhere to their original interpretation of the meaning of the disputed passage and continued to profess self-government on colonial lines as their goal, applying analogies which may be useful in suggestion, but are apt to deceive when rigidly applied to cases which are not really parallel.

The year 1912 was further marked by the appointment of a Royal Commission to report on the constitution and conditions of the Public Services, with the main object of investigating the possibilities of admitting

Indians in larger numbers to the higher grades. The report of the Commission has recently been published.

**Further history of the Muslim League.**

In the meantime a change had been gradually coming over the spirit and aims of the Muslim League. The war between Italy and Turkey, events in Persia and, above all, the Balkan war, created considerable sympathy with Turkey and resentment at the apparently passive attitude of the British Government. The sympathy of Indian Muhammadans, especially the Sunnis, with Turkey was prominent as long ago as the time of the Crimean war and is referred to in the private correspondence of Lord Dalhousie, recently published. It had strengthened with time and improved communications. Above all it had grown with a pan-Islamic propaganda which originally inculcating religious and political reform, and preached in Turkey and Egypt by Sheikh Jamal-ud-din el Afghani, an Afghan educated in Bokhara, had been subsequently converted, first by Sultan Abdul Hamid and afterwards by the Young Turks, into an appeal to the Faithful to rally round the Ottoman Khalifat.\*

Many Muhammadan politicians disliked our agreement with Russia and contrasted British inaction during the Balkan war with her championship of Turkey in former days. They saw that while Japan was proving the ability of an Asiatic power to make herself respected, the few remaining Muslim powers, Morocco,

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\* See Appendix II.

Persia and Turkey, were sinking lower into depths of submission or calamity. And, turning their eyes on their own country, they beheld in Lord Morley's Reforms and the alteration of the partition of Bengal what they regarded as conclusive triumphs for the policy of agitation pursued by the Congress. While these impressions were working on their minds, Congress newspapers were profuse in expressions of sympathy over the misfortunes of Turkey. All these things, working together, produced a remarkable effect. In 1908 the President of the All-India Muhammadan Conference, Mr., now Sir, Saiyid Ali Imam, had declared that the Muslim League and the Congress differed fundamentally. "Has not," he said, "this ideal of self-government created impatience, because of its impracticability, carrying idealism off its feet and creating extremism? Let the Congress announce that in practical politics loyalty to the British administration is loyalty to India, and that reform in the existing administration is possible only with the maintenance of British control . . . As long as the leaders of the Indian National Congress will not give us a workable policy like the one indicated above, so long the All-India Muslim League has a sacred duty to perform. That duty is to save the community it represents from the political error of joining in an organisation that in the main, as Lord Morley says, cries for the moon." Even in January, 1910, the Muslim League, under the presidency of the Agha Khan, had expressed gratitude for the consideration showed to the Muhammadans in the Reform

arrangements ; but a remarkable change was imminent. In August, 1912, the majority of leading Muhammadans were unable to come to terms with Government in regard to the conditions under which a Muhammadan university should be established at Aligarh. Later on in the year Indian Muslims despatched a medical Red Crescent Mission to Turkey under a Dr. Ansari, and originating largely in the efforts of a Mr. Muhammad Ali, editor of an influential newspaper. And in January, 1913, the council of the Muslim League decided to recommend a new constitution to their association. The objects were henceforth to be—"the promotion among Indians of loyalty to the British Crown, the protection of the rights of Muhammadans and, without detriment to the foregoing objects, the attainment of the system of self-government suitable to India." These recommendations were accepted by the association at Lucknow on the 22nd of March, 1913. There it was said that if Sir Edward Grey remained arbiter of Britain's foreign policy, the Muslim status in Asia would be swallowed up by Russia. The adoption of suitable self-government as an ideal was adopted, after a heated discussion, by a large majority. Influential Musalmans present regarded the proposal as a departure from the fixed policy of the Muhammadans and destructive to their interests as a minority in India. Others thought the aim proposed not high enough and desired identity with that expressed by the Congress. The Agha Khan was not present at the meetings. But

afterwards he commented to the London branch of the League on the resolutions passed. If, he said, self-government for India meant, as he took it to mean, an ideal involving many decades of effort toward self-improvement, social reform, educational diffusion, and complete amity between the various communities, the ideal must commend itself to thoughtful approval. But if it meant a mere hasty impulse to jump at the apple when only the blossoming stage was over, then the day that witnessed the formulation of the ideal would be a very unfortunate one in the annals of their country.

**Position at  
the begin-  
ning of the  
war.**

Not long afterwards he resigned the presidency of the League. The change in the ideals of that body was confirmed at the sessions of December, 1913, and was eulogised by the Congress meeting of the same month.

The qualification "self-government of a kind suited to India" appears to mean self-government in which Muhammadans will have a share proportioned to what they consider to be their political rather than their numerical importance. As we shall see later, an attempt has recently been made to define this share.

And thus the outbreak of the great war found the advanced politicians—Hindus and Musalmans—drawing near a common platform and seeking vaguely for representative government on colonial lines. With some this goal was merely a nominal article of faith, but with others it was a genuine objective. And behind both was a dim background of Revolutionaries, who, encouraged from abroad, were asserting their presence

by intermittent subterranean activities of the most sinister kind. Apart altogether from these, stood the great majority, the masses of conservative and indifferent opinion; for it must never be forgotten that all the serious politicians in India are a very small fraction of the immense and varied population.

They do not represent the body of this population. Nor do they speak for the fighting men of India. Few of the old territorial aristocracy follow their banner, and they stand apart from the Ruling Chiefs whose importance in the Imperial structure I have already explained. But, on the other hand, they represent the tendencies and inclinations of a rapidly-increasing class which comprises the more articulate intelligence of the country and dominates the Indian Press—a class which is moved by restless discontent.

The reasons for this discontent are varied and complex. I purpose to examine them in a separate chapter.

Indian politics from the outbreak of war to the end of 1915. The enthusiastic loyalty shown by the Ruling Chiefs on the outbreak of the war set a splendid example to the whole country. The conservative and territorial classes were equally enthusiastic, and the Congress politicians followed the initiative of one of their leaders, who moved in the Imperial Council that India should be allowed to share in the financial burdens which the struggle must entail. In fact the cause in which Britain fights touched the warm Indian imagination,

and the conservative and advanced classes alike rejoiced in the despatch of Indian troops to the front.

The position of the Muhammadans was exceedingly difficult. To appreciate it properly, we must remember what religion is to ordinary Indian Muslims, the depth of their innate fanaticism, and the regard in which, at times encouraged by us, they have been accustomed to hold the Sultan of Turkey. We must also remember that pro-Turkish influences were actively at work. When we consider all these things, we must heartily appreciate their almost general loyalty to the British Crown. That pan-Islamism should be silent in such circumstances, that it should not cause trouble here and there, could not reasonably be expected. But, on the whole, Indian Muhammadans are right in claiming credit for the part which they have played. This part was, no doubt, prompted to some extent by the wise declaration, which immediately followed the entry of Turkey into the war, that the Holy Places of Arabia and sacred shrines of Mesopotamia would be immune from attack by Britain and her allies, so long as Indian pilgrims remained unmolested. And the loyal manifesto simultaneously published by the premier Ruling Chief, himself a Sunni Muhammadan,\* set an excellent example.

In the early days of the war there were signs of a willingness on the part of the press to abandon the time-honoured practice of incessant carping at the

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\* Sunni Muhammadans. See Appendix II.

Indian Civil Service, but these signs were evanescent. A zealous desire was shown for accommodation with the Extremists, and was accompanied by reluctance to recognise that revolutionary crimes require stern remedies.\* As regards, however, the main issue—the war—the heart of the Congress remained sound, both for sentimental and for selfish reasons ; and here it is that the British Government is reaping benefit from its liberal educational policy. The eyes of intelligent Indians are sufficiently open to see that our enemies are their enemies.

Revolutionary activity, however, continued in palpable evidence in spite of repressive measures. Conspiracies at Delhi, Lahore and elsewhere came to light and efforts were made by plotters to undermine the loyalty of Indian troops. As too Lord Hardinge subsequently said in the House of Lords. “The unrest in the early spring of 1915 caused by the return to India from Canada and the United States of 7,000 revolutionaries, who initiated a campaign of murder and terrorism in the Punjab, necessitating the arrest in one week of no less than 3,000 revolutionary hooligans, required the utmost watchfulness and preparation on the part of the military authorities.” The Government of India, however, armed itself and provincial Governments

\* “The charge confided to my Government concerns the destinies of countless multitudes of men now and for ages to come : and it is a paramount duty to repress with a stern arm guilty conspiracies that have no just cause and no serious aim.”  
—King’s proclamation of 1908.

with a special Defence Act for the better security of the country, and Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, controlled a most difficult situation in his province with remarkable energy and judgment. Fortunate indeed it was for all that the administration of the Punjab was fully equal to a most serious emergency, for to this circumstance and to the unwearying labours of the Criminal Investigation Department under Sir Charles Cleveland it was largely due that despite dangerous and elusive movements, particularly in Bengal, and pan-Islamic murmurings, which subsided after the internment of Mr. Muhammad Ali, mentioned on page 87, and his brother, Mr. Shaukat Ali, the enemies of England were discomfited, and India came through a very anxious time without misfortune.

**The death of  
Mr. Gokhale.**

Early in the year 1915 Mr. Gokhale died ; and there can be no doubt that his death was a serious loss to Indian politics. He had shown himself able to learn, able to adjust idealism to circumstances, and bold enough to preach commonsense. At the same time, up to the day of his death, he maintained his widespread influence. His place is still unfilled.

**The 1915 Ses-  
sions of the  
Congress and  
Muslim  
League.**

The Hon'ble Mr. Sinha,\* President of the 1915 Sessions of the Congress, spoke with " a feeling of profound pride that India has not fallen behind other portions of the British Empire but has stood shoulder to shoulder with them in the hour of her sorest trial. . . . Princes and people alike have vied with one another to prove

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\* Now Sir Satyendra Sinha.

to the great British nation their gratitude for peace and blessings of civilization secured to them under its aegis for the last hundred and fifty years and more." He said that a reasoned ideal of the future was required ; an ideal which would satisfy the ambitions of the rising generation and arrest anarchism; an ideal which would at the same time meet with British approval. This ideal was the establishment of democracy pure and simple—"government of the people by the people." The British Government was the best government India had had for ages. But good government could not be a substitute for self-government.\* Every British official in India must consider himself a trustee "bound to make over his charges to the rightful owners the moment the latter attain to years of discretion." At present India was not fit for self-government. Free from England and without a real power of resistance, she would be immediately in the thick of another struggle of nations. But when Indians had advanced under the guidance and protection of England so far as to be able not only to manage their own domestic affairs, but to secure internal peace and to prevent external aggression, it would be the interest and duty of England to concede the "fullest autonomy" to India. What this expression "fullest autonomy" means, it was unnecessary to say. He found it difficult to believe

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\* I wonder if the masses of India will ever in practice echo this sentiment. Yet it is *they* whose cause Mr. Sinha advocated, as the end of his address shows.

the Government of our King-Emperor. We should all have been pleased to see our brethren in the Faith fighting side by side with the soldiers of the British Empire. Whatever view one may take of the policy adopted by Islamic countries in the present war, Indian Moslems never desired, nor ever can desire, hostility between the British and Islamic Governments. That hostility should have come about is the greatest misfortune that could possibly have befallen Moslems. I have no desire to enter into details, but a vast majority of my co-religionists, and, for the matter of that, numerous Englishmen too, attribute it to the past foreign policy of Great Britain, and to the failure of British diplomacy. However that may be, it is the cherished desire of the followers of Islam that when peace comes—and pray God that it may come soon—Moslem countries should be dealt with in such a way that their dignity will not be compromised in the future."

The League decided to consider Mrs. Besant's Home Rule project ; and as during the following year this lady assumed a remarkable lead in Indian politics, it is necessary to review briefly her antecedents.

**Mrs. Besant.**

Mrs. Besant is a lady who has been frequently impelled by impetuous sympathies, a robust imagination, and great self-confidence to attack religious and political questions in a highly emotional manner. She possesses an exceptional gift of eloquence and considerable force of character. Her story up to the year 1890 is related

in an autobiography. After being for some years the wife of an English clergyman, she separated from her husband and started as a keen atheist pamphleteer and speaker. For years she worked with the late Charles Bradlaugh, and gradually gravitated to socialism. From this cause she was diverted by theosophy, which she learnt from Madame Blavatsky with whom she lived for some time. After that lady's death, she went to India, in 1893, in order to work for the Theosophical Society. Mr. Hume, the "Father of the Congress," had been one of the pioneers of theosophy in India, and all Mrs. Besant's antecedents impelled her to sympathise with revivalist Hindu religion and politics. Her eloquence, energy, and ability made her a valuable adherent, but at first she devoted herself to education. It was due to her that the Central Hindu College was opened in July, 1898, in a small house in Benares City with only a few boys ; it was she who induced the Maharaja of Benares to give this struggling institution a fine piece of land and spacious buildings ; it was her energy and capacity for organization that, surmounting one difficulty after another, brought the College to a position which enabled it to become the nucleus of a new university. But, before this final success, Mrs. Besant had become involved in a strange controversy which occupied considerable public attention. She resigned the presidency of the College but retained the headship of the Theosophical Society. She turned to active participation in politics,

started two newspapers, and proposed to both the Congress and the Muslim League the initiation of a Home Rule League. The project did not at first find favour with many members of either association ; and all that she could obtain was undertakings that it should be taken into consideration.

## CHAPTER IV.

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### LATER DEVELOPMENTS.

**Lord Hardinge's departure from India and farewell advice.**

Early in April, 1916 Lord Hardinge left India, after an eventful and arduous viceroyalty. Not only had he suffered grievously from domestic bereavement; but an attempt on his life by the revolutionaries on the occasion of his State entry into the new capital had left him badly wounded. He had borne this terrible trial with a fine courage and constancy which had attracted universal admiration. He had persevered in warm sympathy with Indian aspirations. He had earned the peculiar regard of advanced Indians. His farewell advice to them was to remember that the development of self-governing institutions had been achieved not by sudden strokes of statesmanship but by a process of steady and patient evolution which had gradually united and raised all classes of the community.

**Agitations of the year 1916.**

The year, however, was marked by three separate and distinct political agitations, one of which was inspired by a desire for far more precipitate progress, while all three represent currents which will continue to claim attention from time to time. The story of each must be clearly understood.

**(a) The Municipal Bill agitation in the United Provinces.**

The United Provinces, with a municipal population of three millions, contain some of the largest and most famous cities in India and formed the centre of the Muhammadan empire. Hindus compose a large majority of the municipal population, and Act II of 1916 introduced a far wider extension of municipal self-government than had ever been attempted in those

provinces. Boards were bidden to elect non-official chairmen, and District Magistrates retired from municipal work. But this transfer of power was found to be impracticable without a final settlement of the oft-debated question of special representation on religious grounds, and section 12 of the Act embodied this settlement. A provision of the kind was vigorously demanded by the Muhammadans in fulfilment of the pledge originally made to them by Lords Minto and Morley and since repeated in the Viceregal Council. Muslim feeling on the subject had been embittered by the consciousness that for some years Muslims had been steadily elbowed out of such municipal boards as Allahabad and Meerut ; and the Muslim members of the Provincial Legislative Council emphatically informed the Lieutenant-Governor that they did not want non-official chairmen or any other municipal reform until their interests were protected by law. All thinking Muslims are aware that representative institutions must tend to substitute Hindu for British domination unless the interests of minorities can be effectively safeguarded.

The Muhammadan municipal demand was not seriously contested by the more progressive Hindu members of the Council, who expressed their willingness to concede separate representation and 30 per cent. weighting, provided that the total number of Muslim members on any municipal board did not exceed one-third. They agreed with the Muhammadans that any settlement of the controversy should be embodied in the Act, and not left to subsequent decision by rules

framed under it by Government. A compromise was framed, without any sort of official pressure, which accepted the principle of separate representation and, in a moderate degree, the principle of weighting for minorities—Muslim or non-Muslim. The numerical proportions on each board were to be determined with reference to the fact that for the municipal areas of the provinces as a whole—excluding hill municipalities—the Muhammadan population is 38·5 per cent. of the whole. They were not to be based on vague political considerations.

This agreement was accepted by the Council and embodied in a section of the Act which was carried against the opposition of only three dissentients. Its practical results on the constitution of the 49 municipalities of the provinces were—

- (a) a net Muhammadan elective excess of 23 over a representation arranged on a strict population basis. The total provincial elective seats are 853 ;
- (b) an increase of Muhammadan representation in 28 municipalities and of Hindu representation in four municipalities.

It might have been expected that a settlement so moderate and reasonable would have commended itself to all concerned. While, however, the Muhammadans welcomed it, many Hindus succumbed to the influence of an agitation directed from Allahabad by Congress leaders, who based a strenuous opposition on the ground

that the arrangement was unfair to their co-religionists and had been hurried through the Provincial Council without a referendum to the Hindu community. They started a newspaper agitation, and a number of Hindu meetings were organised at leading towns in the provinces. A memorial was submitted to the Supreme Government praying that assent to the Bill might be withheld. On the rejection of the memorial, some Hindus quarrelled with Government over arrangements for the constitution of the new boards, and boycotted municipal elections. Demonstrations of this kind occurred at the two capitals of the provinces and in a few insignificant towns, and a disagreeable flavour was imparted to the introduction of the new measure. It was conclusively proved that there is an influential party of Hindu politicians who are animated by keen sectarian feeling and have little wish for political composition with Muhammadans except on their own terms.

*7b) Effects in India of the action of the Grand Sharif of Mecca.*

The second agitation of 1916 was checked in its infancy. It may revive, but for the time has disappeared from the surface of affairs.

In June it became known in India that the Grand Sharif of Mecca had revolted from the authority of the Sultan of Turkey. The Grand Sharif is chief of the Arabs of the Hedjaz and belongs to the tribe of the Koreish from which the Prophet himself sprang. For a considerable period the Sultans and Sharifs had acted in harmony, the Sharifs acknowledging the Khalifat\* of the Sultans in return for general protection and

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\* See Appendix II.

heavy subsidies. In times more remote, however, the Turkish Sultans had not claimed to be Khalifas, and the Hedjaz had not owned their sway. The title of the original Arab Khalifs, who had disappeared, was first assumed by the Sultan of Turkey in 1575.

The reasons for the Sharif's recent revolt were stated, in a proclamation which he subsequently issued, to have been the proceedings of the Turkish Committee of Union and Progress, their departure from the principles of the *Qoran*, their contumelious treatment of the Sultan, their bloody and inhuman outrages on Moslems.

It was natural that the British Government should sympathise with the Sharif. It had become known that the Turks and Germans purposed to make the Hedjaz and Yamen coasts the basis of attacks on British vessels and commerce. The Allies had of course undertaken to respect the safety and sanctity of the Holy Places of Islam in Arabia ; but these were now in jeopardy from other sources, and the Hedjaz was in peril of Turco-German military occupation.

The revolt of the Sharif, however, was keenly regretted by some prominent members of the Moslem League. It seemed likely to lead to the desecration of the Holy Places of the Hedjaz, and they resented a telegram which had appeared in a newspaper to the effect that the Calcutta Musalmans approved of the rebellion. They believed that the Sharif had acted with British encouragement and were unaware of the grave

underlying military considerations. They considered the Sharif totally incapable of maintaining independent sovereignty over the ark and shrine of Islam. They convened a public meeting which, on June the 27th, passed a resolution condemning the "Arab rebels headed by the Sharif of Mecca and their sympathisers as enemies of Islam." Another resolution repudiated "the suggestion conveyed in a Calcutta telegram that any class of Indian Musalmans could be delighted with the reported Arab rebellion or could view with any feeling other than alarm and disgust the consequences likely to follow therefrom."

All possible publicity was given to these resolutions, but it was explained to the persons aggrieved that agitation of this kind in such circumstances was working on behalf of the King's enemies and must cease. They readily acquiesced. The movement was practically confined to the educated and politically-advanced Muhammadans. It was not taken up by the religious leaders and therefore found no favour among the masses of the people. It is probable, however, that these would have been impressed sooner or later had not preventive action been prompt.

(c) The  
Home Rule  
agitation.

The third agitation of the year grew rapidly in volume. It is apparently based on two assumptions: (a) that there is already such a bond between the politicians and the peoples of India as that which unites the Irish Home Rule\* leaders with the majority of their

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\* Regarding the alleged parallel between Irish and Indian conditions see Appendix VI.

fellow-countrymen ; (b) that the scales between creeds and castes in India will adjust themselves peacefully if the British Government will only leave them alone. The agitation cannot be clearly understood unless it be described not as an isolated movement, but in connection with certain other events of the year.

On the 22nd, 23rd, and 24th of April the All-India Congress Committee met at Allahabad and at private meetings passed certain resolutions which were tentative and were to be discussed in consultation with the committee of the Muslim League. These meetings were presided over by the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya,\* and were attended by the Hon'ble Mazhar-ul-Haq, late president of the Muslim League, by Mrs. Besant, and by other less prominent persons. The pace, however, was not fast enough for Mrs. Besant, who, working from the headquarters of the Theosophical Society at Adyar in Madras, with the openly-professed object of stirring up strong political excitement throughout the country, busily pushed Home Rule propaganda on the platform by orations, and in the Press by two newspapers and thousands of pamphlets. The spirit of her harangues is apparent from the following quotations:—

“ I quite realise that when people are asleep, and especially if they are rather heavy, they do not like the tomtom that goes on all the night through, beating and

\* See page 82.

beating and never stopping. I am an Indian tomtom, waking up all the sleepers so that they may wake and work for their Motherland. That is my task. And they are waking on every side, and the young ones, even more than the old ones, are waking to the possibilities that lie before them. You must remember what India was ; you must realise that three thousand years before the time of Christ, India was great in her commerce, great in her trade.

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" You do not know your own history, many of you, though you have been through your school classes and college classes. Your text-books do not give you Indian history ; they give you fragments written by people of another nation which they think are good for you. It would not be good to tell you of all these things. They talk of wars between the Musalman and the Hindu, as though England had not had wars with Scotland now making one kingdom ; they talk about famines as though there had not been far more famines in India since they came than there were before their visit ; they talk about invasions and raids : where is the country that has not been invaded ? Was not England invaded by the Romans, by the Saxons, by the Danes, by the Normans ?

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" Is India different from any other country, that she also may not be proud of her wars, her invasions,

her conquests, and her defeats, for India has assimilated every conqueror and has made them contribute to the greatness of herself. I know that the English have not been assimilated, but two or three thousand years hence they may be. They have been here but a day or two, only for a poor 150 years. What is that in the five thousand years recognised by European history of Indian greatness, Indian wealth, and Indian culture ? You have no need to be ashamed of India's past, no need to be ashamed of being born an Indian. There is no living country in the world with such a past, no country that can look forward to such a future. For the value of the past is that it shows you how to build for the future ; the value of the past for you to-day when you are breathing what Mr. Gokhale called an atmosphere of inferiority ; the value of the past is to remind you of what you were ; the value of the past is to awaken self-respect ; the value of the past is to make that feeling of national pride, without which no nation can be, and no national greatness can accrue. So I point to your past, and that is what makes our antagonists more angry."

Other of her newspaper utterances were considered by the Madras Government, to be provocative of racial feeling, and finally she was called on to give pecuniary security under the Press Act for the better conduct of her publications. She soon forfeited the security and, depositing the larger sum subsequently required of her, appealed to the High Court against the order of

forfeiture. Her appeal was dismissed, but two of her Judges were Indians, and their judgments contained passages apparently dictated by half-approval of her proceedings. In the meantime Mr. Tilak had once more raised his standard.

In May and June he delivered speeches at Belgaum and Ahmednagar in favour of Home Rule which were considered by the Bombay Government to be likely to bring British rule into hatred and contempt. Substantial security for good behaviour for a period of one year was demanded from him by a District Magistrate, but the order was subsequently cancelled by the Bombay High Court on the ground that the general tenor of the speeches, which were delivered in vernacular, was not such as to justify the prosecution. The following passages from one speech are illustrative of Mr. Tilak's style:—

“ When the people in the nation become educated and begin to know how they should manage their affairs, it is quite natural for them that they themselves should manage the affairs which are managed for them by others. But the amusing thing in this history of politics is that the above law about 21 years has no existence in politics. Though we may perhaps somehow imagine a law enjoining that when you have educated a nation for a hundred years you should give its administration into its hands, it is not possible to enforce it. The people themselves must get this effected. They have a right (to do so). Hence there must be some

such arrangement here. Formerly there was some such arrangement to a little extent. Such an arrangement does not exist now. And herein lies the root of all these our demands, the grievances which we have, the want which we feel (and) the inconvenience which we notice in the administration. And the remedy which is proposed after making enquiries about that root in the above manner is called Home Rule. Its name is '*Swarajya*.' To put it briefly, the demand that the management of our (affairs) should be in our hands is the demand for *Swarajya*.

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" To give authority into people's hands is the best principle of administration. No one disputes this. Because the same thing is going on in the country of those officials who are here. When they go there they have to advocate the same principle. Therefore no one says that this historical principle is bad. Then what is bad ? They distinctly say that the Indians are not to-day fit for *Swarajya*.

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" Formerly there were our kingdoms in this country. There were administrators. The proof of this is that before the advent of the English Government in this country there was at least some order ; there was no disorder everywhere. One man did not kill another. Since there existed such order, how are we to say that the people are not fit (for powers) ? At the present time, science has made progress ; knowledge has increased ;

(and) experience has accumulated in one place. Hence we must have more liberty than before, and we must have become fitter. (But) on the contrary (it is said) we are not fit. Whatever might have been the case in former times, this allegation is utterly false. Better say, (it) is not to be given. (Cheers.) What I say is, don't apply the words 'not fit' (to us). At least we shall know that this is not really to be given. We shall get it. But why do we not get it? It is indirectly said that we are not fit. It is to teach you that we have come here. This is admitted. But how long will you teach us? (Laughter.) For one generation, two generations or three generations? Is there any end to this? Or must we, just like this, work under you like slaves till the end? (Cheers.) Set some limit. You come to teach us. When we appoint a teacher at home for a boy we ask him within how many days he would teach him, whether in 10, 20 or 25 years.

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" If some one were to draw the conclusion that there must be some self-interest in this, that would not be wrong. Why is it so ?

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" There is fitness in us beyond any doubt. (Cheers.) You may then, for some reason, admit it or not. Well, what authority is there for thinking that we possess fitness? I pointed to a Native State. I tell another thing. Keep yourself aloof for ten years and see

whether it can be done or not. If it cannot be done take (us) under your control after ten years. You are free (to do so). This thing, too, is not to be done. Hence the only object in saying that the Indians are not fit to carry on the administration is that they are always to be kept in slavery ; that they are to be made to do work by labouring like slaves ; and that the ways whereby their intellect and their ability may be developed are to be stopped. There is no *Swarajya*."

The following comments on the magisterial order requiring security from Mr. Tilak may be regarded as typical of the Congress press attitude toward that gentleman :—

" The task of honest and outspoken criticism of the Administration is being rendered increasingly difficult by the growing disinclination of Government to tolerate it. This is all we can say just now, but we cannot omit to express our sympathy for Mr. Tilak in his fresh trouble. There might have been a certain amount of difference of opinion or lukewarmness in 1908—even then there was no ill-will in the mind of anyone while sympathy was the note everywhere—but the country will be wholly with him on the present occasion as it was in 1897,\* for it is impossible to hold that the speeches for which he has been severely punished were seditious, with all the respect that we may feel for the opinion of the learned Magistrate of Poona."

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\* I have clearly described the occurrences of 1897 on pages 42 to 47.

A notable feature of the Home Rule propaganda has been to ignore the bitter lessons of the past and endeavour to captivate students and schoolboys. Mrs. Besant formally established her League on the 1st of last September. The issue of her paper *New India*, dated October the 11th, gave her prospectus. It asserted that 50 branches have been established in the principal provinces of India (excepting the Punjab); that her papers and pamphlets were being translated into the vernaculars; that the membership was between two and three thousand; that "Home Rule Day"—September the 14th—was enthusiastically celebrated by a number of branches, as well as by a great meeting held at Madras in the Gokhale Hall of the Young Men's Indian Association—an organisation founded by Mrs. Besant. It stated that the members of the League mostly belonged to Madras and Bombay.

Under the Defence of India Act Mrs. Besant was formally forbidden to enter the Bombay Presidency and later on was also prohibited from visiting the Central Provinces. She did not, however, relax her activities. Her doctrine is, that British rule in India is selfish, obscurantist, and despotic; and that now, while the British Empire is fighting for existence, India should take advantage of this favourable opportunity to organise an irresistible demand for self-government. In the prosecution of her object, she has ignored or minimised the benefits which, even on the frequent

admissions of enthusiastic Indian politicians, British rule has conferred on India\*. She claims that she has always denounced anarchism and deprecated violence ; but these are clearly the extreme catastrophe of the tendencies which she has done so much to encourage. To impress constantly on excitable Indian youths that they are kept out of all good things by a selfish foreign Government can lead the more ardent to only one conclusion, and indeed we have had frequent occasion to observe the effects of such doctrines. One young man after another has been led into crime by the idea that there is oppression in India, and that for this oppression some remedy must be found. " I think," said the murderer of Mr. Jackson, District Magistrate of Nassik " that by killing *sahibs* we people can get justice. I never got injustice myself, nor did anyone I know."

**The reforms  
memorandum of October, 1916.**

Before proceeding further with the history of the Home Rule League, I must state that, in October, 1916, nineteen elected Indian members of the Imperial Legislative Council submitted a memorandum of proposed reforms to the Supreme Government. The memorandum noted that " the people of India have good reason to be grateful to England for the great

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\* On behalf of the Secretary of State for India it was asserted in the House of Commons, on the 25th of July, 1917, that "the action taken against Mrs. Besant was due to her activities such as misrepresenting the acts and intentions of Government and was not due to the ideals professed in their justification."

progress in her material resources and the widening of her intellectual and political outlook and for the steady, if slow, advances in her national life commencing with the Charter Act of India of 1833." It affirmed the "very limited character" of the Indian element introduced into the administration by the Reforms of 1909. It stated that the Legislative Councils were mere advisory bodies "without any power of effective control over the Government, Imperial or Provincial." It stated that the people of India were placed "under great and galling disabilities from which the other members of the British Empire were exempt." These disabilities had reduced them to a state of "utter helplessness." It referred to such grievances as the Arms Act and the system of indentured emigration\* into certain British Colonies. It asserted that the loyalty of the country during the war entitled India to a position of comradeship, not subordination, to "Government that is acceptable to the people because responsible to them." It suggested specific reforms on Congress lines, and practically declared for parliamentary government in India.

It is useful to note one argument which has been frequently advanced by the more enthusiastic Indian politicians with considerable effect on their countrymen. They point to the prospect of federation of the British Empire after the war and they assert the consequent probability that unless India strongly asserts herself, she

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\* Indentured emigration has now been abolished.

may become the subject "not only of the white people of Great Britain but of Greater Britain," of the Colonies "with their declared superiority of white races and their unblushing policies of government against all coloured races." But the inclusion of representatives of India in the Imperial War Conference has exploded this alarm.

**Trend of politics toward the close of the year.**

Except in the case of the Muhammadan aberration already described, the attitude of Indian politicians toward the enemies of Britain remained entirely solid throughout 1916. But their attitude toward the system of British government established in India became increasingly bitter under the strenuous and persistent influence of the Home Rule propaganda. Mrs. Besant ingratiated herself to a marked extent with influential Hindu and Muslim leaders and stood for the president's chair at the December Congress which was to take place in Lucknow. She received a considerable number of votes but was defeated by Mr. Ambika Charan Mazumdar, an ex-school master from Eastern Bengal, a pleader, and a veteran Congressman. So electric became the political atmosphere that the Government of the United Provinces addressed a letter to the president and secretary of the Congress Reception Committee calling their attention to the undesirable nature of speeches which had recently been made in other parts of India, and calling on them to do their best to prevent anything of the kind occurring in Lucknow. They were plainly warned that if the

law were transgressed, necessary action would be taken. The letter was of course resented, but there can be no doubt that it strengthened the hands of the soberer politicians and contributed toward the peace and quietness which characterised the subsequent Congress proceedings.

In November representatives of the Congress and the Muslim League had met in Calcutta and had decided to accept the Home Rule programme. As to special Muhammadan electorates they could not then agree, and the question was postponed for further consideration at Lucknow.

An important political event of the year was the announcement, on August the 7th, of the intended experiment of raising a double-company of Bengalis for military service. The announcement was received with enthusiasm by all loyal gentlemen in Bengal. May it be the beginning of better times in that province!

#### **The December political meetings.**

The last week of December will be for ever memorable in the history of Indian politics for then it was that the Congress Moderates and Extremists proclaimed their reunion, and the principal leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League, finally composing their principal differences, alike declared for Home Rule. The proceedings of both bodies were orderly, and the resolutions and speeches had been carefully considered.

**The Congress of 1916.** The chairman of the Congress Reception Committee, a Lucknow pleader, announced that leaders

of both bodies had formulated a scheme of reforms to be pressed upon the attention of the British Parliament and people after the conclusion of the war, in the name of United India, "in order that we may have a controlling voice in the direction of our internal affairs." Indian patriotism was the greatest guarantee of India's loyalty, for the realisation of her most cherished hopes depended upon the continuance of British rule.

The President, Mr. Mazumdar, in a very long address stigmatised the Morley reforms, for which so much gratitude had been expressed in 1909, as "mere moonshine," and, in a brief historical review, stated that the East India Company "after a hundred years of misrule" had been at last overthrown by a military rising which transferred the government of the country from the Company to the Crown. "It was this Government," he said, "which, actuated by its benevolent intentions, introduced, by slow degrees, various reforms and changes which gradually broadened and liberalised the administration, and restored peace and order throughout the country. In its gradual development it introduced, though in a limited form, self-government in the local concerns of the people, admitted the children of the soil to a limited extent into the administration of the country, and reformed the Councils by introducing an appreciable element of representation in them. It has annihilated time and space by the construction of railways and the establishment

of telegraphic communication. It has established a form of administration which in its integrity and purity could well vie with that of any other civilised country in the world, while the security of life and property which it conferred was, until lately, a boon of which any people may be justly proud." In his qualification Mr. Mazumdar evidently referred to measures adopted under the Defence of India Act.\*

He went on to complain that now the Administration had resolved itself into a barren and sterile bureaucracy, which was "despotism condensed and crystallized."† But, he argued, this despotism had in fact worked up to its own subversion for "from the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 down to Lord Morley's Reforms of 1909, the British Parliament had not taken a single step which was not calculated finally to overthrow this despotic form of government. The education given to the people, the system of local self-government introduced, and the elective principle recognized in the higher Councils of the Empire, had all tended to undermine the old system of government." He animadverted on the educational policy initiated by Lord Curzon's Universities Act, and condemned the working of the Defence Act. His remarks on the colour-bar were very bitter. The sovereign remedy for all evils was

\* See page 92.

† This is a curiously misleading statement. The administration is subject not only to vigilant criticism and supervision, but to elaborate systems of laws and regulations.

Representative Government alias Home Rule alias *Swaraj*. Self-government should come after the war because it must pass through a preparatory process. It is through failure that success is achieved in practical politics. As regards the masses, the educated few have everywhere represented the ignorant many, and history tells us that they have always been their unaccredited spokesmen. Moreover, the Congress had always pleaded for the amelioration of the masses *and would there not always be the paramount authority of Government to correct abuses and remedy injustice wherever committed?*\* The Native States and the quantity of efficient Indian officers were arguments for self-government. The game of the Hindu-Muslim question had been nearly played out. Nationalities were no longer a religious or social federation but a political unit. The recommendations of the Indian Public Services Commission would be of no consequence, for a bureaucratic administration could in no circumstances be liberalised. Anarchism had its roots deep in economic and political conditions. It was due to misrule and could only be removed by conciliation. Repression was useless.†

\* If, however, Home Rule is established in India, what becomes of the paramount authority of the British Government ?

† It is instructive to consider Mr. Mazumdar's words in the light of the state of affairs revealed by the Governor of Bengal in a speech at Dacca on July the 25th, 1917—

“ Last year Lord Carmichael spoke to you very frankly upon the question of revolutionary crimes committed by men whose object is the overthrowing of the existing Government in this

India must have a place in the coming Federal Council of the Empire. Their demands would be—(I enumerate the most important)—

“(1) India must cease to be a dependency and be raised to the status of a self-governing State as an equal partner with equal rights and responsibilities as an independent unit of the Empire.

“(2) In any scheme of re-adjustment after the war, India should have a fair representation in the Federal Council like the Colonies of the Empire.

“(3) India must be governed from Delhi and Simla, and not from Whitehall or Downing Street. The Council of the Secretary of State should be either abolished or its constitution so modified as to admit of substantial Indian representation on it. Of the two Under Secretaries of State for India one should be an

country. He gave you figures of outrages which had, he believed, been committed with revolutionary ends in view from 1907 up to that time. He told you that no less than 39 murders and over 100 dacoities had been committed—a sufficiently melancholy tale for any Governor to have to tell, and I regret to say that this gruesome catalogue has been added to even during the short period of my own rule . . . Widespread and carefully-organised though the conspiracy was there shown to be, the experience of its ramifications and the knowledge of its methods which have been gained during the year that has elapsed have shown that it is even more widespread and carefully organised than was known at that time. The second thing that I would commend to your thoughtful consideration is that without the powers conferred upon Government by the Defence of India Act of 1915, it would have been impossible for Government to have obtained control of the movement and to have given to the people of Bengal the comparative immunity from serious revolutionary outrages which they have recently enjoyed.”

Indian and the salary of the Secretary of State should be placed on the British estimates as in the case of the Secretary for the Colonies. The Secretary of State for India should, however, have no more powers over the Government of India than those exercised by the Secretary for the Colonies in the case of the Dominions. India must have complete autonomy, financial, legislative, as well as administrative.

“(4) The Government of India is the most vital point in the proposed reforms. It is the fountain-head of all the local administrations and unless we can ensure its progressive character any effective reform of the Local Governments would be impossible. For this, Services must be completely separated from the State and no member of any Service should be a member of the Government. The knowledge and experience of competent members of a Service may be utilised in the departments, but they should not be allowed to be members of the Executive Council or the Cabinet of the Government itself.

“(5) The Executive Government of India should vest in the Governor General with a number of ministers not less than one-half of whom should be Indians elected by the elected non-official Indian members of the Supreme Legislative Council. These members should hold office for five years. Thus this ministry of the Viceroy will possess the composite character of a parliamentary and non-parliamentary cabinet.

“(6) The Upper House of Representatives in Canada is composed of 90 members. The Supreme Legislative Council in India should consist of at least 150 members. These members should be all elected. But for the transitory period\* one-fifth may be appointed by the Cabinet, not more than one-fourth of whom may be officials.

“(7) The annual budget should be introduced into the Legislative Council like money Bills, and, except the military estimates, the entire budget should be subject to the vote of the Council.

“(8) The Provincial Governments should be perfectly autonomous, each province developing and enjoying its own resources, subject only to a contribution toward the maintenance of the Supreme Government.

“(9) A Provincial Administration should be vested, as in the case of the Supreme Government, in a Governor with a cabinet not less than one-half of whom should be Indians elected by the non-official elected Indian members of its Legislative Council.

“(10) The Provincial Legislative Council should, in the case of a major province, consist of 400 members and in the case of a minor province, 75 members, all of whom should be elected by the people and each district must have at least one representative of its own. For the transitory period there should of course be the

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\* By this was apparently meant the period between the present and “the time of re-adjustment of the Empire.” See page 120.

same conditions and restrictions as in the case of the Supreme Legislative Council.

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“(12) The Arms Act should be replaced or so modified as to place the Indians exactly on the same footing with the Europeans and Eurasians. The Press Act should be removed from the Statute-book and all the repressive measures withdrawn.

“(13) India should have a national militia to which all the races should be eligible under proper safeguards, and they should be allowed to volunteer themselves under such conditions as may be found necessary for the maintenance of efficiency and discipline. The commissioned ranks in the army should be thrown open to His Majesty’s Indian subjects.

“(14) A full measure of local self-government should be immediately granted throughout the country, and the corporations of the Presidency towns, the District and the Taluk boards and the district municipal corporations should be made perfectly self-governing bodies with elected members and elected chairmen of their own. They should be freed from all official control except such as may be legally exercised by the Government direct.”

Mr. Mazumdar fixed no time-limit for the satisfaction of these demands but would agree to no indefinite postponement. Some proposals should be carried out at once, and others could not be settled until the time for re-adjustment of the Empire arrived ; but the

period of postponement must not be treated as a further extension granted to the present system of administration and its methods. A widespread and far-reaching unrest would inevitably follow any light-hearted treatment of the solemn pledges and assurances on which the people had so firmly and confidently built their hopes.

The British agency of the Congress must be better financed ; for “in England is the real seat of power and the battle of India must be fought on British soil . . . We must have the British public as our ally.”

Mr. Mazumdar concluded by a special appeal to the young among his audience—“Poor India shorn of her pristine grandeur and glory has only you to boast of as her precious jewels . . . Her future is in your hands.” They were to take their place in the “bloodless revolution which is proceeding in this country.” At present they were Uitlanders.

In the course of his address Mr. Mazumdar had alluded to the “sufferings” of Mr. Tilak and Mrs. Besant, and these two persons supported a resolution moved by Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee requesting that His Majesty the King-Emperor might be pleased soon “to issue a proclamation announcing that it is the aim and intention of British policy to confer self-government on India at an early date.” The Congress should also demand that a definite step should be taken toward self-government by granting the reforms enumerated by Mr. Mazumdar.

Mr. Banerjee is the gentleman referred to on page 57. His speech was remarkable in striking an entirely separate note, prompted apparently by his Bengal experiences. The ancestors of the Hindus, he said, had been the spiritual teachers of mankind. Their mission had been arrested. Its retardation must be removed so that they might be able to rescue mankind from the gross materialism and perverse moral culture which had heaped the battle-fields of Europe with hecatombs of dead. But they must be fully equipped before they could fulfil their high commission. The indispensable equipment was self-government. Their work was not political, but moral and religious. Therefore they were invincible. They were now within measurable distance of victory. The promised land was in sight.

Mr. Tilak, who had met with a rapturous reception, both at the railway station and on arrival in the Congress *pandal*, said that the ovation which he had received was obviously intended for the principles for which he had been fighting. They were embodied in the resolution moved by Mr. Banerjee. The Congress had really been fighting for this for thirty years, but the first note of it had not been heard till the Calcutta Congress of ten years back. Some had wanted delay and that the tone of the notes should be lowered. But others had wished to sound it all over India as soon as possible. Hence differences had arisen which were now closed. So were the differences between Hindus and Muhammadans. They had to fight a powerful and

unwilling bureaucracy, who felt that authority would pass from their hands. '*Swaraj*' was the same whether styled Home Rule, or Self-Government and constitutional reform. United power and energy must be exercised if the great obstacles to attaining it were to be swept away. They must now prepare to "fight out" the scheme. It had been judicially decided that they could make any criticism of the bureaucracy in order to further their objects and justify their demand, and that such criticism came within the bounds of the law. The goal of *swaraj* was declared legal. He appealed to the young men present to show such devotion to the cause that by the end of 1917, when he expected the war to be closed, or at latest in 1918, they might meet under the banner of self-rule.

Mrs. Besant then spoke to the following effect. There was much talk about Five Nations who were to form the Federated Council of the Empire. These were all white. That was not a doctrine which the coloured races would accept. The founders of the great religions had all been coloured men. Indians would never be placed under the Colonies, who had branded them as inferior. Hindus and Moslems were now united. Who had a right to say that Indians were unfit for self-government because they were uneducated ? The Imperial Council with its official majority had blocked Mr. Gokhale's Primary Education Bill. The educated in every country were in a minority ; so were "the God-given" rulers of India to-day. As for Indians

being low in the scale of education, so were the drunken, blaspheming, quarrelling crowd whom they would find in the East End of London. It was necessary to make rulers and people understand the intolerable condition of things under which Indians lived. Parliament would pass an Act granting freedom. India's belief rested on England and not on the bureaucracy.

Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haq, the Muslim League President of 1915, supported the resolution and so did Sir Dinshaw Pettit, a prominent Parsi. The President announced that a copy thereof would be sent to His Majesty the King-Emperor.

I have summarised the most prominent details of the Congress proceedings. It will be seen that they constituted a remarkable leap forward from the position taken up by Mr. Sinha in the previous year, and a remarkable triumph for Mr. Tilak and Mrs. Besant. They did more. They proved that absolute political independence has become the professed ideal of Moderates and Extremists alike, and that we are confronted with a more definite situation than any that has hitherto presented itself in this connection. If the Extremists have adopted the ideal of the Moderates, they have led the latter, so far as the Congress is concerned, into the very paths against which Mr. Gokhale warned his countrymen in 1909—the paths trodden by the new school of political thought to which he alluded. Three years ago an Extremist leader remarked in a magazine article that Moderates and Extremists were in fact animated by the same purpose, and that

the real political divisions were opportunists and revolutionaries.\* If we add to these a third division consisting of those who have been forced into the present situation by love of popularity or lack of moral courage, we must admit that present politics go far to justify his observations.

The Congress agreed to call on Mrs. Besant's Home Rule League for co-operation, and after long private discussion Congress and Muslim Leaguers reached an agreement as to proportions of political representation on the Legislative Councils of the future. The agreement was supplemented by the condition that if in any province two-thirds of either community did not want a Bill or a measure, that Bill or measure should be dropped by both communities.† They could not agree as to proportions on local bodies. The Hindu Sabha, or general assembly, which met in the same week, for the purpose of dealing with religious, communal, and social questions, and was largely attended, protested strongly against any Hindu weakening on this subject.

**The Muslim League meetings of 1916.** The chairman of the Reception Committee of the Muslim League, a Lucknow barrister, enlarged on the determination of Indians to devote themselves to and support the British Imperial cause until it

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\* He continued: "The opportunist profits by the excesses of the revolutionary, and will never cure or control political criminalism."

† This condition would apparently apply to measures specially affecting either Hindus or Muhammadans. But many measures can be represented as affecting either or both, and there are communities in India which are neither Hindu nor Muhammadan. It is not easy to see how such a compromise can be satisfactory or workable in practice.

should be triumphantly vindicated on the field of battle. Muslim soldiers had cheerfully "gone into fight against the forces of their Caliph in defence of the cause of the Empire to which their secular destinies are linked." But as in the countries of the Allies strenuous thought and energies were being applied to the discovery of foundations for a new political, economic, and social order, India could not alone stand aside and take no thought for the morrow. The Muslim League must co-operate with other communities for the attainment of self-government or Home Rule, and the minority must and would be safeguarded. The speaker need not undertake a detailed review of the administrative sins and shortcomings "which, like the poor, have always been with us." He referred to the Press Act, the Defence Act, and the internment of the brothers Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali.

The address of the president, Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, a Bombay barrister, who had recently appeared for Mr. Tilak in the Bombay High Court, was, in spite of some rapid skating over thin ice, the ablest of the speeches delivered during these days of oratory. He said that the Muhammadan gaze was, like the Hindu gaze, fixed upon the future. The decisions which they then arrived at would go forth with all the force and weight that could legitimately be claimed by\* the chosen leaders of 70 millions of Indian

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\* If Mr. Jinnah meant that he and his friends had been elected by the 70 millions, he was stating what was not the case. They had been elected by a small fraction of the 70 millions.

Muhammadans. He commented in moving terms on the war and on the issues at stake therein. "What India has given in this fellowship of service and sacrifice has been a free and spontaneous tribute to the ideals of the great British nation, as well as a necessary contribution to the strength of the fighting forces of civilisation which are so valiantly rolling back the tides of scientifically-organised barbarism."

He remarked on the necessity for reconstruction after the war and on the difficulties of the Indian problem. "There is," he said, "first the great fact of the British rule in India with its Western character and standards of administration, which, while retaining absolute power of initiative, direction, and decision, has maintained for many decades unbroken peace and order in the land, administered even-handed justice, brought the Indian mind, through a widespread system of Western education, into contact with the thoughts and ideals of the West and thus led to the birth of a great and living movement for the intellectual and moral regeneration of the people . . . Secondly, there is the fact of the existence of a powerful, unifying process—the most vital and interesting result of Western education in the country—which is creating, out of the diverse mass of race and creed, a new India fast growing to unity of thought, purpose, and outlook, responsive to new appeals of territorial patriotism and nationality, stirring with new energy and aspiration, and becoming daily more purposeful and eager to

recover its birthright to direct its own affairs and govern itself. To put it briefly, we have a powerful and efficient bureaucracy of British officers responsible only to the British Parliament, governing, with methods known as benevolent despotism, a people that have grown fully conscious of their destiny and are peacefully struggling for political freedom. This is the Indian problem in a nutshell. The task of British statesmanship is to find a prompt, peaceful, and enduring solution of this problem."

Mr. Jinnah combated the following theories :—

- (a) that democratic ideas cannot thrive in the environment of the East ;
- (b) that "the only form of government suitable to India is autocracy tempered by English (European) efficiency and character ;"
- (c) that the interests of the educated classes are opposed to those of the masses ;
- (d) that the former would oppress the latter were the protecting hand of the British official withdrawn ;
- (e) that Indians are unfit to govern themselves.

He described the internal situation in the following terms : "We have a vast continent inhabited by 315 millions of people sprung from various racial stocks, inheriting various cultures, and professing a variety of religious creeds. This stupendous human group,

thrown together under one physical and political environment, is still in various stages of intellectual and moral growth. All this means a great diversity of outlook, purpose, and endeavour." Indian Nationalists were not afraid of frankly admitting that difficulties beset their path, but these difficulties were "already vanishing before the forces which are developing in the new spirit." He then proceeded in the following terms :—

" Well, these are the broad aspects of the Indian problem and they will give you a fairly general idea of the obstacles that stand in the way of a full and speedy realisation of the ideals of Indian patriots. We have a powerfully organised body of conservative 'interest' on the one hand, and a lack of complete organisation of the national will and intelligence on the other. There is, however, one fundamental fact that stands out clear and unmistakable, which no sophistry of argument and no pseudo-scientific theories about colour and race can disguise. Amid the clash of warring interests and the noise of foolish catchwords, no cool-headed student of Indian affairs can lose sight of the great obvious truism that India is in the first and the last resort for the Indians. Be the time near or distant, the Indian people are bound to attain to their full stature as a self-governing nation.

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" If the Indians are not the Pariahs of Nature, if they are not out of the pale or operation of the laws that

govern mankind elsewhere, if their minds can grow in knowledge and power and can think and plan and organise together for common needs of the present and for common hopes of the future, then the only future for them is self-government, i.e., the attainment of the power to apply, through properly organised channels, the common national will and intelligence to the needs and tasks of their national existence. The cant of unfitness must die. The laws of Nature and the doctrines of common humanity are not different in the East."

Indians were determined to prove their fitness for self-government. The Hindu-Muslim *rapprochement* was the sign of the birth of an United India. The scheme of reforms promulgated by the Congress must be adopted, and a Bill must be introduced into the British Parliament to give effect to it. He entirely identified the Muhammadan political objectives with those of the Hindus, and he urged that no decisions should be arrived at by supreme authority without the publication of proposals in India for public criticism and opinions. He briefly asked that Muhammadans might be allowed to choose their own Caliph. He thanked Government for the assurance that the Holy Places of Islam would receive special consideration. He concluded by applying the recent utterances of the Prime Minister regarding Ireland to the Indian situation. Muhammadans must work and trust in God, so that they might leave to their children the heritage of freedom.

The resolutions adopted by the League closely corresponded to those passed by the Congress. It is noteworthy that one of the oldest, shrewdest, and most conservative landlords in Oudh appeared on the platform as an ardent reformer. It is also remarkable that a well-known Extremist politician from Bengal was asked to speak on the subject of the Defence Act and received with enthusiasm. He remarked that there were no anarchists in Bengal. They were revolutionary patriots. Revolutionary patriotism would never have been born if there had been no attempt to stifle evolutionary patriotism.

**General remarks on these meetings.**

It is important to notice that in spite of the sensational character of the resolutions passed at the Congress and Muslim League meetings, the behaviour of the audiences was generally unexceptionable. The Lieutenant-Governor was present for a brief period on one day of each session and was well received. The proceedings were characterised by orderliness, good humour, and absence of unpleasant demonstrations. The League audiences were far smaller than those of the Congress and obviously far less educated. It seemed doubtful if the hearts of many there were really in the objectives of their spokesmen and a large number imperfectly understood the speeches. The sessions had been preceded by a regular split among the Muhammadans of the Punjab, and by signs of a split among those of the United Provinces. But the Lucknow Leaguers worked the machine and the finances. They were solid for

union with the Congress and carried the meetings, but their action was disapproved by many of their co-religionists, who consider that, whatever politicians may agree upon, the Hindu and Muhammadan masses will, for years to come, need an unbiassed arbiter; for in the life of the ordinary Hindu or Muhammadan, religion and religious rivalry still play as vigorous a part as they played a century ago.\*

Special efforts had been previously made by the politicians to enlist the sympathy and help of the students. These efforts naturally obtained a wide success, and the behaviour of all the "volunteers" enlisted was excellent. Many Indian ladies attended the Congress meetings. A noteworthy outcome of the week was the declared determination of Indian Nationalists to push their demands for self-government by introducing a Bill into the Imperial Parliament.

On his return journey to Bombay Mr. Tilak lectured at Cawnpore to a large mass meeting on Home Rule and met with a remarkably enthusiastic reception ascribed by one of his principal hearers to "the sacrifices that he had made."

\* Cow-sacrifice by Muhammadans on the occasion of the Bakr Id festival is abhorrent to Hindus who are taught by their religion to hold the cow sacred.

## CHAPTER V.

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### THE MEMORABLE YEAR 1917.

**The appointment of an Industrial Commission by the Government of India. Importance of this measure.**

While the politicians had been concentrating their energies on the attainment of administrative changes, and Mrs. Besant had been declaiming against the 'intolerable condition of things in which Indians lived,' the country had been profoundly calm. Although for more than two years the great War had distracted the World, although in other countries bloodshed and misery, oppression and civil dissension had reigned supreme, India, the ancient battle ground of Asia, had throughout remained free from any sort of serious disturbance. The masses had followed their customary callings with their customary placid contentment; the aristocracy had lived their usual sheltered lives; the lawyers had pocketed their fees; advanced journalists had thriven on depreciation of the Government to which they owed their security; trade, commerce and business had suffered only from such disturbance as was inevitable during a great world-strain.

Only from the martial classes, and especially from the martial classes of the Punjab, was the War exacting sacrifices of any severity. The provision of recruits, labour, supplies, railway material, munitions, was adding to the ordinarily heavy tasks of the Government of India, but had not prevented it from taking thought for the removal of Indian grievances and the promotion of Indian prosperity. And among grave preoccupations, it

had been seeking means for the practical solution of the difficult problems presented by the much-desired furtherance of Indian industrial enterprise.

An interesting article in a recent *Quarterly Review* by Mr. W. H. Moreland, late of the Indian Civil Service, explains how since the beginning of this century a popular demand had grown up and increased in India for the development of industries and for vigorous action by the State to produce this development. He describes this demand as the expression of political, social and economic needs. The politicians regard backwardness in any form of national activity as a stigma. Young men of the English-educated classes are more and more crowded out of the traditional professions of their order, Government service, Law, medicine and teaching. Economically greater national wealth is desired, not only for itself, but as a condition necessary for the development of national life.

India was and is mainly an agricultural country. Only 9·5 per cent. of her population are found in towns as against the 78·1 per cent. of England and Wales in pre-war days. But India had of yore her own industries which were largely killed by the revolution wrought by the steam-engine. Numbers of artizans had been settled round the courts of Indian Chiefs, under the aegis of the East India Company in Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, and in other parts of the country to meet local demands which could not, except in the case of costly articles, be supplied from distant

centres of industry. Communications were bad, however; and the great change worked by steam-power brought disaster and small recovery to Indian manufacturers. Although Europeans introduced the jute industry in Calcutta, and the cotton mills in Bombay, where they were closely followed by the Indian population of Parsis and Khojas, British capitalists were slow at striking out new lines, and Indian capitalists never attempted to do so. There was no systematic investigation of the problems peculiar to India, and there was no attempt on the part of Government or the people to make India economically self-supporting. The general policy was to procure from abroad what could be obtained thence more cheaply and to accept the situation.

In Bombay, however, Indians had been prominent as mill-owners and ship-builders, and there it was that the late Mr. Justice Ranade, an ardent patriot, in a paper read in 1893 before an Industrial Conference at Poona, observed that some of his countrymen were recognizing the importance of adopting modern methods of manufacture and the necessity of reviving and encouraging indigenous industries. His expectations of progress were sanguine; but early in the present century, railway communication having greatly extended, the demand for 'Swadeshi' or indigenous industries, was considerably intensified by observation of the economic progress of Japan and by association with Bengali politics.\*

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\* See page 55.

A number of factory enterprises were undertaken, especially in Bengal, mostly on a small scale, but being devoid of business knowledge or direction, as well as of substantial pecuniary support, these generally failed. For some time the Government stood aside from the effort, content to trust to technical education and the example of British industries, but rapidly it grew obvious that India possessed materials for a large and varied industrial output, and that to call forth these materials would be a great and beneficent work for which far more capital and enterprise were urgently needed. Money and competent managers of labour were both essential. It became equally plain that unless a strong lead were taken by Government these would not be found, even though the possibility of the large-scale enterprise in India had been established by some jute and cotton mills as well as by the Tata Iron Works, "a veritable steel city with trans-Atlantic completeness of equipment," which has sprung up within the present century. Progressive Indians frankly expected material State assistance toward commercial and industrial prosperity.

With the outbreak of the War the political and economic importance of raising India from the position of a mere exporter of raw produce was soon emphasized. The success of practical demonstration following on investigation had been previously demonstrated in the case of agriculture. It was obvious that this process might be extended to industries. The question of

industrial improvement was raised in the Imperial Legislative Council Sessions of 1915, and it was decided that a Commission should be appointed to consider how it could be effected. Some Indian members were anxious for measures of tariff protection but these were specifically excluded from the terms of reference. The Commission was constituted under the presidency of Sir Thomas Holland, K.C.I.E., who had been Director of the Indian Geological department and after retirement from office had taken up work as Professor in the University of Manchester and as a consulting Geologist. The other members were selected British and Indian business men from Calcutta and Bombay, Mr. Chatterton, once Director of Industries in Madras and now holding the same post at Bangalore, the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya,\* who had strongly proclaimed the need for advancing Indian industries, the Secretary of the Commerce and Industry department of the Government of India, and two members from England, one a member of a firm of leading electrical and chemistry engineers and the other Sir Horace Plunkett who never joined the Commission and is now engaged on another great enterprise. After a preliminary tour by Sir Thomas Holland undertaken in order to gain a general idea of the existing industrial situation, the Commission began work at Delhi in November, 1916 and visited the United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa, Bengal and Madras during its first season's tour. It went into recess about the

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\* See page 82.

end of February, 1917, leaving two members to prepare materials for a draft report. It will meet again in November next.

The proceedings of the Commission have been followed with considerable interest. Recognising their lack of technical knowledge and of instruction in the business side of industry, as well as the difficulty of raising funds, the advocates of indigenous enterprise asked for an extreme measure of Government help in regard to both technical education and the grant of special facilities to particular industries. They also requested financial assistance by way of subscription of shares or guarantees. The leading business men made practical suggestions regarding individual difficulties, and a great deal of information of all kinds was obtained. There were, however, some complaints that the Commission was a device on the part of Government for postponing the grant of solid assistance to Indian industries, and very strong exception was taken to the exclusion of tariff questions from the terms of reference.

One important result has already accrued from the investigations of this Commission. A Munitions Board has been constituted under the presidency of Sir Thomas Holland which has made considerable progress in co-ordinating Government demands for all war supplies, except food and forage, as well as in assisting manufacturers to deal with these demands. Organization was needed both among Indian industrialists and among the consuming Departments of Government

with reference to war conditions. There was considerable lack of knowledge among manufacturers as to the present and probable requirements of Government, and supplies were being purchased, both by public departments and by private firms, from the United Kingdom and elsewhere which could with more contrivance have been provided in the country. All these shortcomings have been vigorously combated, and Government indentures now pass through the hands of the Munitions Board who, with the help of local controllers in all provinces, obtain information as to the possibilities of manufacture, pass on to industrialists information regarding Government demands, and assist them, so far as possible, in meeting requirements which can be dealt with by some modification of the existing machinery or process. It is hoped that by the conclusion of peace this Board will have created a Government Stores department in India, and the nucleus of an industrial department which will ensure the placing in this country of the largest possible number of Government and private orders for manufactured articles while, by affording information and advice, it will assist manufacturers to meet those orders.

**The abolition  
of indentured  
emigration.**

The Government had also been examining another question much debated by politicians, the possibility of substituting a less objectionable scheme for the system of indentured emigration of Indian labourers to certain British Crown-Colonies. There has long been some confusion in the political mind between abuses arising

from this system and the exclusion of free Indians from the self-governing Dominions. In fact no Crown-Colony has ever imported Indian indentured labour and simultaneously restricted free Indian immigration, and no self-governing Dominion except Natal has ever imported indentured Indian labour. Export of such labour to Natal was stopped some years ago by the Government of India as they were dissatisfied with the treatment of free Indians by Natal colonists. In decimating against the export of indentured labour to Crown-Colonies Indian nationalists have been influenced partly by the exclusion of free Indian immigrants from self-governing Dominions. Lord Hardinge had said that the then existing export arrangements must be maintained until the new conditions under which labour should be permitted to proceed to the Colonies had been worked out in conjunction with the Colonial Office and the Colonies concerned. But some politicians were pressing for early solution, and their representations were being considered by the Government of India in a sympathetic spirit. A temporary solution was found during the February sessions of the Imperial Legislative Council.

**Announce-  
ments by His  
Excellency  
the Viceroy  
at the 1917  
February  
Sessions of  
the Imperial  
Legislative  
Council.**

These sessions require careful notice for they were of exceptional interest and importance. They were opened by His Excellency Lord Chelmsford who announced that the Report of the Royal Commission on Public Services, appointed in 1912, which had just been published, would be carefully considered. The

major questions, among which the increased employment of Indians in the higher branches of the services was one of the most important, would not be prejudiced or delayed by lesser problems. He also announced that the expediency of broadening the basis of government and the demand of Indians to play a greater share in the conduct of public affairs were receiving attention. Progress must be on well-considered and circumspect lines. Subject to these considerations, sympathetic response would be made to the existing spirit of progress. The Government of India had addressed a despatch to the Secretary of State on this subject in the previous autumn. He had noted that the reforms proposed in the Memorandum of the nineteen members had received endorsement by resolutions passed by the National Congress. His Majesty's Government were at present entirely occupied on matters connected with the war, and would not be able to give speedy attention to the despatch.

A further opportunity of service had been offered to India by the announcement of an Indian War Loan which would soon be launched. His Excellency referred to the devoted and loyal assistance given by the Ruling Chiefs toward the prosecution of the war, to the flow of contributions, and offers of service from their States. He concluded by announcing the impending organisation of an Indian Defence Force, which would include Indians, and the representation of India by three selected members at the coming special War Conference in

London. These announcements were received with enthusiasm.

**The Defence Force Bill.**

On the 21st of February, the Commander-in-Chief introduced the Defence Force Bill. He said that recruitment would be by compulsory enrolment in the case of European British subjects and by voluntary enrolment in the case of Indians. As regards Europeans, the sources to be drawn on were limited and must be fully utilised. The sources for recruiting Indians were illimitable. Enrolment would be restricted, as a rule, to classes or individuals who, in ordinary circumstances, would not be available for enlistment in the regular army.\* The force would consist of active companies, reserve companies, and cadet companies. Active companies would be liable for service anywhere in India. Reserve companies would be liable to local service, and cadet companies would be liable to military training only. The Bill would operate for the period of the war.

The Bill was welcomed by the non-official members as affording, for the first time, definite opportunities for military training and service to the general population of India, and not only to the martial classes. It would also give an opportunity to the educated classes for the defence of their country. Anxiety was, however, expressed by a few members as to the status and

\* Hitherto enlistment for the regular army has been only from the military races and castes. (See pages 26 and 27.)

privileges to be given to these classes. The commissioned ranks of the army should, they said, be thrown open to Indians.

The Bill was passed on the 28th of February, after a debate in which various amendments were proposed some raising questions which the Commander-in-Chief described as of "high Imperial policy," which could not be dealt with at present. The suggestions, however, which had been made would, he said, be carefully noted for future guidance. The remarks of His Excellency the Viceroy on this most important measure may be quoted: "The Act is confessedly a war measure and therefore temporary, but it will prove a most invaluable experiment. We shall have—it is no secret, for he who runs may read—to re-organise our Indian army after this war, and some line of second force will probably be required. In the Indian Defence Force, raised temporarily under the stress of war, there may lie the germ of such new second line. Do not ask us, at such a moment as this, to give answers to problems which will have to be solved at a time when there is more leisure. When that time arrives then criticise, as you will, the Government in respect of its policy. But for the moment, I would assure you that all the subjects of your criticism are engaging our most sympathetic consideration, and I would ask your co-operation in making this present scheme a success; but do not let it be marred on the ground that it does not contain all that you would desire."

**Resolutions  
regarding  
the Defence  
of India Act.**

Proposals were made by Indian non-official members during these sessions to provide special machinery to consider the cases of persons whose movements or actions it was intended to control in accordance with the rules framed under the Defence of India Act. The special machinery was to consist of Advisory Committees on which the Bench and the legal profession must be strongly represented. These recommendations were not accepted by the Government. The speech of the Home Member contained noteworthy passages which should be read by all who wish to understand conditions in India.\*

**India's financial contribution to the war funds of the Home Government. The raising of the cotton import duties.**

The Finance Member, Sir William Meyer, announced on the 1st of March that, in pursuance of two resolutions moved by Indian non-official members and carried in the Council on the 8th of September, 1914, and the 24th of February, 1915, the Government of India had informed the Home Government of their willingness to borrow the largest sum that could be raised as a War Loan, to make a special contribution of £100 million to the war, and to put forward proposals for increasing Indian resources in order to meet the consequent recurring liabilities. Sir William Meyer pointed out that this contribution amounted to nearly double the total Imperial revenue as it stood before the war. He announced that one method of meeting the contribution would be the raising of the import on cotton fabrics from  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., the general

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\* See Appendix III.

Indian tariff rate. But the cotton excise duty would remain  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. A grievance of twenty years' standing,\* which had virtually meant protection in favour of Lancashire, was thus removed, and the removal was not effected without a strong and bitter protest from the Lancashire cotton trade. But the action of the Government of India was powerfully upheld by the then Secretary of State, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, both in replying to a deputation and in the House of Commons. It was finally agreed there that the arrangement should stand but should be subject to the review of the fiscal system of the whole Empire which would follow the War. Some passages from Mr. Chamberlain's reply to the Lancashire deputation show how much depended and depends on a just settlement of this and similar questions. "Do not underrate the strength of Indian feeling on this question." You said: "If indeed it was necessary to raise the Customs duty, why did not you also raise the excise"? Well, you have been satisfied for twenty years with the arrangements made by the late Lord Wolverhampton, and afterwards modified by Lord George Hamilton. For all those twenty years the settlement which you have found satisfactory has been an open sore in India. It is twenty years ago that Lord Lansdowne used words which were quoted in the debates of those times by Sir Henry Fowler and I venture to read them to you to-day, for, if

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\* See page 48.

they were true twenty years ago they are of tenfold greater force and truth to-day. He said : " There has never been a moment when it was more necessary to counteract the impression that our financial policy in India is dictated by selfish considerations. It is a gross libel to say, and I hope this is true to-day, that neither of the great political parties of this country will for the sake of passing advantage deny to the people of India the fair play which they expect."

Sir William Meyer's words regarding the raising of the cotton import duties were welcomed with warm enthusiasm, and his announcement of the £100 million loan was received with hardly a dissentient voice.\*

**Concluding speech by His Excellency the Viceroy.**

In a speech which wound up the Sessions His Excellency the Viceroy invited non-official members to co-operate with the Government of India in organised efforts to stimulate industrial and agricultural development, reminding them of the unlimited possibilities of usefulness in these directions, and impressing on them the importance of securing a maximum response to the War Loan. He recommended the new Defence Force measures to them in terms which I have already quoted.

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\* On the 7th of March the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya moved a resolution to the effect that in modification of the £100 millions, India's contribution should be the proceeds of the forthcoming War loan and 6 millions a year as long as the War lasted. The Hon'ble Pandit spoke in support of his resolution describing the loan as a "stupendous burden" but concluded by withdrawing it. He considered that the decision must be loyally accepted for the present in consideration of the cause for which England was fighting.

He referred to the imposition of the extra duty on cotton goods, reminding them that the Home Government had decided that this would be considered afresh when the fiscal arrangements of the Empire were reviewed as a whole after the war, but stating that what had passed in England should inspire confidence that when that review took place, Indian interests would be stoutly defended.

His Excellency further reminded the Council that, as a consequence of a recent *communiqué*, indentured emigration to Fiji and the West Indies, the only colonies for which the system had survived up to the War, was now at an end and would probably not recommence. Free labour emigration to Ceylon and Malaya must be restricted by War exigencies. He announced that a Commission which had been appointed to enquire into the educational problems presented by the Calcutta University would meet in the following November. He concluded by reading a message of gratitude from the Premier of the United Kingdom for India's financial contribution to the war. Thus closed a remarkable and harmonious Sessions.

**The Press  
Act Deputa-  
tion.**

The policy of the Government had been markedly conciliatory and the barometer seemed set fair. But there were those whose object it was to prevent the confidence and co-operation for which His Excellency had so earnestly appealed. On the 5th of March he had received a deputation which asked for repeal of the Press Act, and his reply to this body exposes so clearly

the methods of some of these people, that I give its prominent passages in a separate appendix.\* Unfortunately the appeal with which it concluded fell on ears slow to hear.

**Educated Indian response to the Defence Force Bill.**

Dissatisfaction was expressed with the conditions for recruitment of Indians under the Defence Force Bill ; and for some time very few took advantage of the new opportunities offered. It had been announced that 6,000 were required. Within the first two months after the passing of the Bill, only 300 were enrolled. Then a further appeal was issued by Government acknowledging that the conditions were open in some respects to criticism, stating that the question of Commissions was under consideration, and promising sympathetic treatment to all who should come forward. The conditions were to some extent altered, and the period originally fixed for enrolment was extended. The later response to this call on the part of the educated community may best be described in the words used by the Commander-in-Chief in the Imperial Council on September the 19th, 1917. His Excellency, interrogated as to the number of Indians who had enlisted in the Defence Force, stated that 5,643 in all had applied for enrolment but no information was, so far, available as to the number actually enrolled as the medical reports had not been received. The statement of the numbers who had come forward in the various provinces was illuminating. Burma stood at the top of the list with 1,992,

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\* See Appendix IV.

while the United Provinces had the unenviable distinction of being at the bottom with 205. The numbers for Madras were 1,749, for Bombay 591, for Bengal 740, and for the Punjab and Frontier Province 366. In reply to another question Sir Charles Monro emphatically declined to entertain a suggestion that recruits from the educated classes in the Indian section of the Defence Force should receive superior treatment to that meted out to other men. "The Government of India," said His Excellency, "do not propose to make any discrimination in the provision of rations in the Indian Army based on the social status of the recruit. Such a discrimination exists in no army in the world. In the British Army recruits drawn from the highest ranks in society receive precisely the same rations as those drawn from the lowest. The Government of India have no reason to believe that the educated classes require, in order to keep them in health and fighting vigour, any more liberal provision than is found sufficient in the case of the classes who form the great mass of the Indian Army and they are entirely opposed to so undemocratic a measure as would be the preferential treatment of any particular class."

**Continuance  
of the Home  
Rule cam-  
paign. In-  
terment of  
Mrs. Besant.**

In the meantime the Home Rule campaign, which had been approved by the Congress and Moslem League, continued under the leadership of Mrs. Besant. The arguments which she employed in pleading her cause are clearly stated in such passages from her paper *New*

*India*, as those which I reproduce later on.\* Their influence upon the political public and Press was assisted by various speeches and lectures.

In June a *communiqué* was issued by the Government of Madras stating that, in the exercise of the powers given him under the Defence of India rules, the Governor in Council directed the service of orders on this lady and her two principal lieutenants prohibiting them from attending or taking part in any meeting, or from delivering any lecture, from making any speech, and from publishing or procuring the publication of any writing or speech composed by them, placing their correspondence under censorship, and directing that after the expiry of a brief prescribed period, they should take up their residence in one of four healthy districts, ceasing to reside at and near the city of Madras.

Mrs. Besant took leave of her public in a letter to the Press, describing herself as having been "drafted into the modern equivalent for the Middle Ages '*oubliette*.'" Her real crime was that she had awakened in India national self-respect. "Indian labour is wanted for the foreign firms. Indian capital is being drained away by the War Loan, which is to bring no freedom to India, if the autocracy has its way. Indian taxation to pay the interest on the War Loan will be crushing. When that comes, India will realise why I have striven for Home Rule after the war. Only by that can she

\* See Appendix V.

be saved from ruin, from becoming a nation of coolies for the enrichment of others."

**Consequences  
of this  
measure.**

It is possible—and I have heard it asserted—that the internment of Mrs. Besant would not have awakened the excitement which it did awaken among her friends and followers had it not followed on speeches by provincial Governors which had been directed towards allaying the excitement and moderating the expectations caused by the Home Rule propaganda. The first of these had been made by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, when addressing his Legislative Council, and the second by Lord Pentland, the Governor of Madras, on a similar occasion.\* These speeches were construed as heralding a course of repression, and it was represented that Mrs. Besant's internment was the first step on that road.

A non-official member of the Imperial Legislative Council announced in a Press interview :—"I take it she (Mrs. Besant) will be allowed to go on with her work. If she is exposed to suffering in that cause, thousands of Indians who have not been able to see eye to eye with her in all things will think it their duty to stand by her and to follow her." The same note was struck by many newspaper articles of which I may quote two:—

"Mrs. Besant's only fault lay in her carrying on the Home Rule movement with whole-hearted energy and

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\* See Appendices VI and VIII.

enthusiasm. . . . The opportunity which is now before us of securing self-government will not recur for a hundred years if through our own fault we allow it to slip through our hands."—Extract from the *Kesari* paper (Mr. Tilak's organ) quoted in the *Leader* of June the 21st.

"The most serious civic malady that just now affects our hearts is despair. This hopelessness has seized both young and old. We are a condemned people. This is the almost universal feeling in the country. . . . It (this hopelessness) has been precursor of wild unrest everywhere in the past history of the world."—Extract from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of Calcutta.

An appeal was made to the Government of India to procure a reversal of the Madras orders; and when this failed, every effort was put forward by leading politicians to stimulate as wide an agitation as possible both in the Madras Presidency and elsewhere. "Passive resistance" even was proposed and discussed. And while the sentiment was sincere among those who genuinely shared Mrs. Besant's creed and were aware of her considerable gifts of money to Hindu interests\*, no pains were spared to include in the agitation numbers of persons who knew and cared little or nothing about Mrs. Besant and her proceedings. The issue of the *Non-Brahman* newspaper of Madras, dated the 15th of

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\* She had for years subscribed largely to the funds of the Central Hindu College.

July, thus described the methods employed :—“ We can also assure the Government that Home Rule emissaries go about convening meetings and sending telegrams and cablegrams all round. It is this false nature of the agitation that detracts from its value. . . . But the newspaper accounts exaggerate, and there is the inevitable leading article.”

Such were the methods of agitation employed both in the Madras Presidency and elsewhere, and the usual appeals were made to the Secretary of State.

And yet what were the facts ? To what work had Mrs. Besant latterly devoted her energies at a time when the Government by law established had particularly appealed for loyal assistance from all classes ?

What feelings had she expected to evoke from impressionable young India when she published the following passages referring to Indian revolutionaries :—

“ Desperate they broke away from all control of their elders, began to conspire, and numbers of them have conspired ever since. Some have been hanged ; some were sent to the living death of the Andaman Islands ; some were imprisoned here. Now the students watch with amazement the Premier of Great Britain rejoicing over the results of the similar action of young Russian men and women who conspired and blew up trains and assassinated a Tsar, and who are now applauded as martyrs, and the still living of whom are being brought back in triumph to the Russia whose freedom they have made possible. The names

which were execrated are held sacred and sufferings are crowned with triumph."

And again, when she published her article "The Great Betrayal" \* in the *New India* issue of May the 2nd, 1917, was not her obvious purpose so to stimulate resentment against the existing Government as to induce the conclusion that only in its speedy supersession by Home Rule would a remedy be found? Is it possible that either the persons who promoted the agitation that succeeded her internment or any other readers of this effusion attributed a different intention to its authoress? What too had been the punishment meted out to Mrs. Besant? She had been asked to take her choice of several healthy places of residence, to desist from political activities, and to submit to restrictions on her correspondence. No unprejudiced person can doubt that the orders of the Madras Government were passed with extreme reluctance and that they were amply justified.

**Return of the Indian delegates to the Imperial War Conference.  
Speech by Sir James Meston. Its results.**

The internment of Mrs. Besant had been shortly preceded by the return from the Imperial War Conference in England of the delegates selected by the Government of India: His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, Sir James Meston, Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, and Sir Satyendra Sinha, member of the Bengal Executive Council. The results of their visit were explained by Sir James Meston in a speech from which I will quote at length further

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\* See Appendix V.

on.\* But this strong and eloquent appeal for patience and co-operation received little or no response from politicians. It heralded, however, a great effort by the landed classes of the United Provinces to stimulate recruitment in co-operation with officials which has, so far, met with considerable success.

**Memorable  
announce-  
ments by the  
Secretary of  
State for  
India.**

On the 20th of August two memorable pronouncements were made by the Secretary of State for India. The first was to the following effect:—

“The policy of His Majesty’s Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. They have decided that substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible, and that it is of the highest importance as a preliminary to considering what these steps should be that there should be a free and informal exchange of opinion between those in authority at home and in India. His Majesty’s Government have accordingly decided, with His Majesty’s approval, that I should accept the Viceroy’s invitation to proceed to India to discuss these matters with the Viceroy and the Government of India, to consider with the Viceroy the views of Local Governments, and to

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\* See Appendix VIII.

receive with him the suggestions of representative bodies and others.

"I would add that progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages. The British Government and the Government of India on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples, must be judges of the time and measure of each advance, and they must be guided by the co-operation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service will thus be conferred and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility.

"Ample opportunity will be afforded for public discussion of the proposals which will be submitted in due course to Parliament."

The second ran as follows :—

"The Secretary of State for India has announced in the House of Commons the decision of His Majesty's Government to remove the bar which has hitherto precluded the admission of Indians to Commissioned rank in His Majesty's Army and steps are accordingly being taken respecting the grant of Commissions to nine Indian officers belonging to Native Indian Land Forces who have served in the field in the present war and whom the Government of India recommended for this honour in recognition of their services. Their names will be notified in the *London Gazette* and in the same Gazette they will be posted to the Indian Army.

"The Secretary of State and the Government of India are discussing the general conditions under which Indians should in future be eligible for Commissions. In due course the Army Council will be consulted with a view to the introduction of a carefully-considered scheme to provide for the selection of candidates and for training them in important duties which will devolve upon them."

It is remarkable that these announcements had been shortly preceded by the death of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji,\* the veteran Indian politician, who had sat in the British Parliament and had done as much as any other man to achieve the result which had been at last obtained.

**Opening of  
the Septem-  
ber Sessions  
of the Impe-  
rial Legisla-  
tive Council.**

The September Sessions of the Imperial Legislative Council opened with a speech by His Excellency Lord Chelmsford which carefully reviewed the work accomplished by his Government including the efforts already made to meet political objectives, and concluded with an earnest appeal to leading politicians for co-operation.\* The speech had been preceded by the announcement made by the Home Member of Council that the Government of India were prepared to recommend to the Madras Government the removal of restrictions placed on Mrs. Besant and her coadjutors, if the Government of India were satisfied that these persons would abstain from unconstitutional and violent methods of political agitation

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\*See Appendix IX.

during the remainder of the war. In taking this course the Government of India were actuated by the confident hope that the recent announcement of His Majesty's Government and the approaching visit of Mr. Montagu would have such a tranquillising effect on the political situation as to ensure a calm and dispassionate consideration of the difficult problems which were to be investigated during his stay in this country. The Government of India were prepared, subject to the same conditions, to take the same course in regard to other persons upon whom restrictions had been placed under those rules merely by reason of their violent methods of political agitation.

Both speech and announcement were well received by the political public, and we may hope that Mr. Montagu will find an atmosphere of political calm when he arrives in India to investigate as difficult problems as ever presented themselves for solution to the statesmen of any age.

## CHAPTER VI.

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### THE MEANING OF IT ALL.

**British  
attitude  
toward  
Indian  
progress  
briefly  
considered.**

WE have briefly examined the nature of the political inheritance to which Britain succeeded. We have seen how she determined that her government should rest on freedom and equal opportunity. We have seen how the East India Company introduced Western education. We have seen how in parts of northern and central India the old rulers, the dethroned princes, the dispossessed landlords, the soldiers, fought and lost in 1857. We have noticed that consideration in their hour of defeat secured their peaceful acquiescence in British rule. We have traced the growth of a new India, developed by British capital, enriched by British commerce, and fostered by British education. We have watched the rise of a new ambition among those children of new India who owe most to British rule. We have seen how the appeasement of this ambition, at first a cloud no bigger than a man's hand, has gradually become the most prominent of Indian problems. We have traced the constitutional changes by which our statesmen endeavoured to meet its complexities.

It may seem that these changes were tardy and reluctant. But we need not be ashamed of our fathers ; and if we are to do justice to them we must carefully consider all the circumstances of the past which largely govern and explain the present.

Until the time of the Mutiny their dominion was constantly challenged ; they were constantly driven to war in order to secure their territories and protect their subjects or their allies. Yet all the time they were organising and establishing a system of government which gave to this great continent that peace and order to which it had been so long a stranger. Within the same period they began to open up the communications of the country and introduced the Western education which, in the words of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, was to pour a new light on the people of India. If their rule was autocratic it was carefully controlled by laws, established with the willing concurrence of the majority of their subjects, was organised on a system which till then had always obtained in Asia, and, in the interests of peace, order, and security, was the only form of government possible for India. In respect of legislation it might latterly have been liberalised in the manner indicated by Sir Saiyid Ahmad. But to be wise after the event is easy ; and when we notice how troubled and anxious were the years of the Governor Generals from Warren Hastings to Lord William Bentinck,\* and from Lord William Bentinck to Lord Canning, when we remember that India had "been ever foreign to democratic and representative institutions such as those dominant in Western countries,"† we shall rather marvel at the

\* See page 9.

† See an interesting paper read by Professor Kale at the Indian Industrial Conference of 1909.

progress which was accomplished than be surprised that it was accompanied by omissions.

Then came the Mutiny with its natural fruits—distrust and such precautions as racial distinctions regarding the possession of arms. After this great convulsion Indians were, for the first time, associated in legislation for British territories. But, as is clearly indicated by the elaborate and rigid Hindu caste-system, the peoples of India had always considered that there should be a well-defined governing class and a governed class.\* The Indians whom the British Government first called into council were men of rank and were few in number. Men of other grades were generally consulted through the local officers of Government with whom they were in contact. It was recognised that as Western education spread, a demand for a more effective voice in public affairs would certainly arise and extend ; but it was less clearly foreseen how strong and importunate this demand would become among classes which largely owed their origin to British rule and had always hitherto been content to be well governed. An ambition for a larger share in the executive administration was more easily understood and was from time to time sympathetically considered, but the reduction of the British official element in a vast continent† which had, within recent

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\* See Appendix XI.

† "But it is chiefly in respect of its size, equal to that of all Europe including Russia, its teeming population, a fifth of that of the whole world, and still more in respect of its remarkable diversity of physical aspects, climate, soil, and races, that India

memory, been the scene of a violent struggle, was not a process which could be lightly contemplated, and was naturally regarded with different eyes by the British and by advanced Indians. Even now the character of the administration and the reasons for particular measures are, for want of contact with British officers, liable to be seriously misjudged by masses of illiterate or imperfectly educated people.\*

Circumstances both in and outside India combined to strengthen gradually the position of the English-educated classes. The cankers of unbroken security and an elaborate system of civil law have undermined the leadership of the landed interests. It has further suffered from our introduction of popular voting and representative institutions into towns and districts thronged mainly with illiterate people. But the educated classes of the urban populations who thus rose to power were landless and restive ; and before their eyes was the spectacle of English political

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claims recognition as a continent or collection of different countries."—*Census of India Report, 1911.*

\* I remember hearing the following words from the Principal of a Bengali private college, himself of half Bengali blood : " The difficulty was this, Government itself was in the dark, and the Bengalis were in the dark. They did not know what was going on, or why they were being so worried by spying. Even now the feeling against the police is very bitter. The people do not see enough of Englishmen. They do not see enough of the District Magistrate or of the District Superintendent of Police himself. When they do see them and hear them, and are on pleasant terms with them—and pleasant terms can only ensue from seeing and hearing—all goes well. I know that from my own personal experience : personal influence is everything in Bengal."

contentions. Education had indeed spread, but it was education of a purely literary kind, was accompanied by no social reconstruction and by little corresponding increase of industrial or commercial Indian enterprise. Economic discontent and political ambitions grew together and were enhanced by some measure of social and religious unrest. With economic discontent we have only begun to cope; with political ambitions we endeavoured to keep pace by the Reforms of 1892 and 1908 as well as by gradually Indianising the public services. But our efforts have merely whetted expanding desires; and now events outside this country, and racialism widely preached, have taken political ambitions in tow and are dragging them along at a tremendous pace.

Yet there are certain considerations which *we* are bound to face even from the new "angle of vision" which has come with the war, and even if the Congress and the Muslim League insist on disregarding them, for surely we are still obliged to look at Indian problems from the plane of ordinary reason. How long is it since 1908, the year in which those reforms were introduced, which were so gratefully received and did in fact open a short cut to a speedier predominance of the political classes than had till then been contemplated by their most sanguine leaders? Has the educational and social condition of the great body of the people advanced so far since that eventful year? Is the industrial strength of the

country far more marked? Has local self-government attained a far wider and more stable development?\* Do not the various provinces differ materially in educational progress? Is not the British Government still dealing with "a vast continent inhabited by 315 millions of people sprung from various racial stocks, professing a variety of religious creeds, in various stages of intellectual and moral growth?"† The large majority of these have no desire whatever for any government but good government that will protect them and assure to them peaceful days and the fruits of their labours. They are ignorant, docile and credulous, but happy in their own way and accustomed to look to British officers for help and protection. Yet Britain is drawing them out of

\* Mrs. Besant, when addressing the Congress of 1914 on the subject of self-government said: "the government of States is at once a science and an art: and in order that it may be worthily exercised, the lesson must be learnt in local self-government, then in provincial autonomy, and finally, in the self-government of the nation; for the work of governing is the most highly-skilled profession upon earth . . . What, then, should you do? You should take part in local government wherever it is possible. As it is, take it and practise it, for you will gain experience, and you will gain knowledge, and only that experience and knowledge will guide you when you come to speak in larger councils. . . . I would plead to you to face this drudgery. It is drudgery, make no mistake; understand the details of local administration and understand how to manage your own drains, particularly your water-works. These are the alphabets of self-government: and unless you go through that drudgery, no amount of enthusiasm and love for the country will make your administration a success." This advice was endorsed by the Congress President in the following year.

† See page 131.

the stage of paternal Government because she is bound to acknowledge and allow for the new spirit which she has herself inspired in a small but important minority. But is her path one which invites precipitate haste, or a "zeal for permanency" which may put the remedy out of her reach ?\* And has her Government in India really opposed Indian progress ? Let Mr. Mazumdar himself testify.†

It may indeed be fairly argued, in the light of subsequent events, that our attitude toward the early manifestations of the Congress movement was lacking in vision, that we might have done more to put ourselves into the skins of the chiefs of that movement. But there was some reason for regarding it as partly calculated to inspire factious discontent ; and what did so ardent a Liberal as Lord Morley think, only nine years ago after long and close study of the subject, of the suitability of a parliamentary system to Indian conditions ?

#### Nationalism and Racial- ism.

The fervid Nationalists of to-day loudly proclaim that the British Government in India is antagonistic to progress and is therefore to be distrusted and combated. They wish its responses to keep pace with the rapid expansions of their own ambitions. They are men in a hurry. Otherwise they would better appreciate the enormous difficulties which beset us, and would remember that their creed is really one of yesterday

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\* See page 6.

† See page 117.

and owes its character and origin to British rule. They do remember this now and then ; but impelled by undisriminating democratic enthusiasm and by vigorous racialism, they persuade themselves that the one obstacle in the way of the speedy establishment of full-fledged parliamentary institutions is British selfishness.

Their vision is dazzled by the strong glare of contemporary events, and is partly biassed by a racial feeling which must be expected and is no new phenomenon in India.

It was in active evidence in 1857. It protruded in the seventies, as the memories of the Mutiny began to fade. It was greatly stimulated by the Ilbert Bill controversy, and, as my narrative shows, blended with a new nationalism after the triumphs of Japan. That long before then the spectacle of other nations working out their own destinies was a spring of bitterness in some Indian minds is apparent from a passage in the diary of Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt, once a member of the Civil Service and afterwards a Congress leader. Describing a night spent at the North Cape with other tourists, during an expedition to Norway and Sweden in 1886 he wrote : " I will not conceal the pain and humiliation which I felt in my inmost soul as I stood on that memorable night among representatives of the free and advancing nations of the earth rejoicing in their national greatness. Champagne was drunk on the top of the hill and Germans and Frenchmen,

Englishmen and Americans pressed us to share their hospitality. I accepted their offer with thanks on my lips, but I felt within me that I had no place among them."

It is not difficult for us to understand such feelings, and it is easy to conceive how the victories of Japan over one of the proudest European nations must have intensified their bitterness. It was indeed these remarkable events that gave a firmer footing to undisguised racialism and a substantial habitation to Indian Nationalism.

The reformed Legislative Councils have brought together official and non-official members. They have tended to dissolve social barriers and to assist a better understanding. But they have certainly done nothing to allay Indian racialism ; and away from the Council-rooms, in the cities and towns, among the English-educated classes, it is, partly through the influence of the Press, partly from the general unsettlement of the times, and partly as a result of increasingly frequent 'constitutional agitations,' far stronger now than it was in 1908. It is only natural that Indian agitators should seek to better the instruction which they receive from English politics, but unfortunately agitations in India, however legally flawless, are generally sustained by methods which sharply exacerbate racial feeling. And those of us who have much opportunity of observing such methods often incline to despair of ever closing a breach that is so frequently and so deliberately

widened. It is true that some politicians would be glad to slacken the insistent stream of complaint and depreciation, the incessant demand for greater power and privileges which, as Mr. Gokhale once said, must tend to throw officials and non-officials into separate camps. But unfortunately these gentlemen have lately so seldom called the tune that we are apt to forget that they are there at all. Yet we should not forget their difficulties, and especially their difficulties just now. Let us imagine ourselves with their history and surroundings, and let us observe the pressure that is being exercised to induce them to join in taking advantage of present opportunities. Let us look with them on the outside world. We shall then see why they have been so largely carried away by the tide.

We have, too, our own defects and national peculiarities, and the attitude of some of our newspapers is at times harmful and lacking in insight. The root-cause of educated Indian resentment is social and lies deep in the colour-line, which has been drawn with rigour in some British Colonies and is still drawn in India, sometimes unavoidably. Now, far more than ever before, it is regarded as wilful and insulting. Many present-day Nationalists are apt to seethe with indignation at English social exclusiveness, at anything which they construe as indicating that one colour is regarded as a badge of superiority, and the other colour as a badge of the reverse. Such indications they represent as intolerable grievances in an age which has

witnessed the Japanese triumphs, the political developments of the past eleven years, and the participation of Indian troops in a great European war. It is sensibility of this kind, as well as a new-born nationalism and a fast-increasing appetite for posts and power, which have united Hindu and Muhammadan politicians in a common propaganda. All alike have dwelt so long amid "the cankers of a calm world," beneath the shadow of a strong Imperial system, that even when sheltered thereby from a world-wide storm, they meditate little on the benefits of such protection and much on the least agreeable of its accompaniments. Their watch-word is : " We want to be in our own country what other people are in theirs." They think that they are despised, and that, under a pretence of choosing the best men for appointments, we are determined to keep all good things for our own race.

**Position of  
the Civil  
Service.**

The mental attitude of the Civil Service they consider to be hostile to their political progress. Yet in fact the members of that service have good reason to be well aware of the enormous value of intelligent and loyal non-official co-operation, and their hearts warm to those from whom they receive it. They are proud that their mission is a mission of liberty and self-development ; and their sympathies would naturally incline toward Indians who reading English history and literature are attracted by the ideals of nationality and freedom which they draw from those inspiring pages. But there are other sources of inspiration ; and such ideas too often operate through a medium of

sensitive, suspicious, and bitter racialism. Some degree of this we must expect, but the result does not make our ordinarily heavy tasks easier or pleasanter. It does not promote the willing and genuine non-official co-operation which is essential for peace and progress, and, when forthcoming, slights all difference of colour. Sometimes we obtain such co-operation. Sometimes we meet its opposite in a bitter unfriendliness which is not to us a mere phenomenon observed from an official or editorial height but a factor to be encountered in our daily lives. We take it as it comes and make the best of it. Fortunately there is much in Indian character, as well as in the real facts of the past and present, which tends to counteract the propaganda of enmity that has long been vigorously pushed. Of that campaign we are the main objective, for we can be most easily attacked; so we answer for what is generally amiss, and even the Mesopotamian failures are laid to our charge, although we had no more to do with them than we had with the Dardanelles expedition.

We are subject to human frailty, but we try to do our duty and it is certainly no part thereof to smile on attempts to undermine public confidence in the Government which we serve. If we are in no haste to abandon a system of Government which, whatever may be its defects, has hitherto served India well, it is not because we cling to power for power's sake, but because we know that a Government which fears to entrust its servants with power, ceases to keep order. If we are inclined to

linger in the old tents, it is because before leaving those tents we would like trustworthy assurance that the new camp will not rapidly develop into a scene of embittered contentions and enfeebled administration. We have excellent authority for thinking that many tragic miscarriages in history have been due to the impatience of the idealist.\*

**Limits of racialism.**

In spite of the increase of racialism among the English-educated classes, when members of these classes meet British officers with open minds things go well enough, and educated Indians who enter Government service seem happy there : some indeed have shown a fine spirit of loyalty in difficult circumstances.

With the soldiers, with the landlords, except sometimes in Bengal, where this class is closely interwoven with the literary castes, with the great body of the people, racialism presents no appreciable stumbling-block, although it can be evoked on occasions by some unusual excitement, generally of a religious nature. What the masses desire in their Government is that it shall be well administered and that its protecting power shall be incontestable. It is still true that, in the words of a non-official witness, "they believe in the English official. They find him to be honest and just right through." They value his administration for its independence, for its detachment from all liability to social, religious or caste influences. Although usually gullible, they have so far failed to adopt the creed that

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\* Lord Morley's speeches, page 38.

they are oppressed under the present system of Government. Indeed their behaviour in the early months of the war, when many hearts were concerned with vague fears for the future, showed that they hold a very different faith. Some persons, distressed by this fact, have endeavoured to persuade them that their faith is mistaken, that they are really exploited and impoverished, that their corn is, to their injury, exported from the country, their money is drained away in salaries spent by foreigners in Europe, and that altogether their sufferings are such as can only be cured by the sovereign remedy of Home Rule. But this teaching, which only puts in a novel and more obtrusive form what has been proclaimed before, has so far failed to embitter relations between the masses and their foreign rulers, and indeed there is nothing either in Indian traditions or in the manifest facts of every-day life which would incline the people at large, if not beguiled by expectations of material benefit or impressed by evidences of a great shifting of power,\* to transfer their present allegiance to classes of their own countrymen, who neither represent their former governors, nor have until now ever treated them with any particular benevolence. For although many

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\* It is not difficult to conjecture what they will do if they once think that power has departed from the British Raj. Events which have occurred since the close of my narrative have shown that despite years of 'pax Britannica,' in the presence of what they regard as sufficient provocation; the masses are little less prone to fight among themselves than they were in 1857. (See page 13).

Congress speeches and resolutions have expressed solicitude for popular advancement, and here and there a political leader has, aided by social position and pecuniary liberality, acquired remarkable influence among the masses, no solid attempt has hitherto been made to remove the stern distinctions of the Hindu caste-system which in all parts of India except Bengal, stand much where they stood years ago, dividing classes far more rigidly than any social arrangements which can be found in Europe.\* Thus even though for political purposes, Brahman Congress leaders claim members of lower orders as brother Hindus, we can understand the spirit that inspired the manifesto issued in 1916 by the President of the South India Chamber of Commerce to all non-Brahmans. This manifesto was subsequently contradicted by a small section of the President's community, but contained the following memorable passage :—

“ We are not in favour of any measure which in operations is designed, or tends completely to undermine the influence and authority of the British rulers, who alone in the present circumstances of India are able to

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\* “ It is also generally recognised that the difference between the restrictions imposed in India under the caste-system and the corresponding social distinctions which exist in other countries is that elsewhere these distinctions are largely a matter of personal prejudice, which it is at the option of the individual to observe or ignore at his own pleasure, whereas in India they are enforced by rigid rules, laid down by the community as a whole, the breach of which is visited with serious penalties.”—*Census of India Report, 1911.*

hold the scales even between creed and class,\* and to develop that sense of unity and national solidarity without which India will continue to be the ground of mutually exclusive and warring coteries without a common purpose and common patriotism." The non-Brahman movement in Madras is in fact of no small significance for in that Presidency Hindus who are not Brahmins have a degree of education, a solidity, and an organization which they lack elsewhere. Perhaps their feelings are keener, as in Southern India Brahman exclusiveness is rigid indeed.†

#### Suspicion.

Racialism among educated Indians derives much of its strength from an indefinite and all-pervading suspicion. Perhaps the habit of mind which this suspicion indicates is a legacy from the troubles of the far-away past, from the years of constant disorder and boundless credulity. It is common both to the ignorant and to the educated, and although in the former it produces more grotesque results, in the latter, too, it offers a fruitful field for exploitation. I could give various illustrations of my meaning, some of a recent date, but one will suffice. The greatest obstacle in the way of the much-needed reform of

\* " In the south of India the ideas regarding pollution are far more developed than in the north. In parts of Madras a man of high caste is regarded as polluted if any person belonging to certain low castes comes within a stated distance from him ; whereas in northern India pollution is caused by touch only".— *Census of India Report, 1911.*"

† (See *Census of India Report, 1911.*)

secondary education is the suspicion that the real design of Government is to check and limit its spread. It is unfortunate that such ideas are sedulously propagated with extraordinary success by newspapers, and obtain rapid credence among large numbers of persons from whom a wiser judgment might be expected. Yet we need not be surprised, for education is poor and narrow, and the impressionable minds of these people are regularly fed with similar doctrines by the only journals which most of them ever read. It must, too, be remembered that they are under a foreign Government, and that only as we more and more admit their leaders to our counsels, shall we render our measures and policy less open to any excuse for misapprehension. Sir Saiyid Ahmad's criticisms of British rule are of permanent value.\*

Mr. Jinnah, addressing the Muslim League in December, quoted a passage from the speech of the Prime Minister on the Irish situation, and remarked that every word thereof applied almost literally to conditions in India. Mr. Lloyd George had said that in attempting to settle the Irish difficulty he had felt all the time that he was moving "in an atmosphere of nervous suspicion and distrust, pervasive, universal, of everything and everybody . . . It was a quagmire of distrust which clogged the footsteps of progress. That was the real enemy of Ireland." Mr. Jinnah might usefully have pushed the parallel home. His audience probably

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\* See page 35.

understood him to mean that educated Indians are the only victims of suspicion. It is true that the restrictions on military service and on Indian possession of arms have encouraged this belief, and persons prominent in extreme politics are sometimes watched by the police in a foolish and obtrusive fashion. But, let those who complain remember that the frequent tone of their Press and occasional utterances of their speakers are hardly calculated to encourage trust. The British Government in India is well aware that it can only endure with the loyal consent of Indians. . It wishes to trust every section of them, and not least the section which, unless constitutional and educational progress be violently arrested by some lamentable outbreak, must, in course of time, leaven many of the rest. Should it be compelled to distrust persons belonging to this section, the distrust must be in the highest degree unwelcome, and can easily be removed by those distrusted. But even if it be admitted that the British government has too rashly concluded that such persons were typical and meant what they said or wrote, there remains another suspicion which has most injuriously clogged Indian moral, political, and material advancement, and that is an Indian suspicion. It is the idea, constantly fostered by the Press, that the policy of Government is in fact dictated by racial exclusiveness, by needless and selfish caution.

The removal of this creed should be a matter of no small concern to enlightened Indians; for it not only

inspires many of the hostile utterances of the newspapers, but has sometimes combined with racialism to obstruct measures of supreme public importance and thereby to advertise the danger of large constitutional concessions. Perhaps the day may come when this aspect of affairs will forcibly strike Indian reformers; but there are various influences which are working strongly against the near possibility of so bright a dawn.

**External influences.**

There are the criticisms, not always well-informed, of some of our own countrymen, and there are many recent confident assertions of the supreme merits in all climates and circumstances of unfettered parliamentary institutions. That such theories are at present undergoing a fiery ordeal has perhaps escaped the notice of their Indian admirers, whose eyes are trained on the statutory triumph of Irish Home Rule in the Imperial Parliament. That, combined with the previous alteration of the Bengal Partition, which had been described by Lord Morley as a "settled fact," has inspired them with the firmly-rooted belief that parliamentary Government can be accomplished in a few years and that "legitimate agitation" can achieve anything if prosecuted with sufficient sound and passion. That there is no royal road to true democratic Government in India, and that by constantly encouraging racial feeling they may be preparing the way for a storm which they will be helpless to control, does not seem to occur to them. Yet the past history of Bengal is so eloquent in warning that it is difficult to think that

they are unaware of the possibility of this contingency.

#### Economic grievances.

But the Indian Nationalist is not always impelled by sentiment alone. He frequently considers that his country is drained, and that he is himself impoverished by foreign rule. His reasons for the diffusion of such views have thus been summarised :—"The country is absorbing Western education faster than opportunities occur for its use. The cost of living is rising, and the standard of comfort is increasing before wealth is sufficiently diffused to meet the new needs of the people."

These words may thus be amplified. The number of English-educated young men is becoming too numerous for the public service or the medical or legal professions. To the former the great majority fail to obtain admission. In the latter some fail to obtain practice. Idle and unhappy, those disappointed drift into the ranks of discontent. As commercial enterprise is generally backward they are unable to look forward to the variety of callings open to the youth of Europe, and the capital which might be employing them and developing the resources of the country too often remains locked in barren seclusion or is invested in banking and private money-lending.

One would wish that the coyness of Indian capital were recognised by Indian politicians. But although the future of India must now enormously depend on its useful employment, they have done little to coax it forth.

They have often preferred to complain that the profits of the money to which India owes almost all her present-day development, both political and general, largely leave the country. Some years ago an enlightened gentleman of Bombay, while frankly admitting that India owes her railways and thereby her new nationalism to English capital, went on to grumble, because so much of that capital was extracting petroleum from Burma, coal from Bengal, and gold from Mysore. The profits of this enterprise, he explained, went away from India, and Indian interests would best be served if the gold and petroleum were left underground to await the indigenous enterprise which would come with progressive regeneration. Lord Curzon once effectively disposed of such complaints :—“ When I hear the employment of British capital in India deplored, I feel tempted to ask where without it would have been Calcutta ? Where would have been Bombay ? Where would have been our railways, our shipping, our river navigation, our immense and prosperous trade ? And why should a different argument be applied to India from any other country in the world ? When Great Britain poured her wealth into South America and China, I never heard those countries complain that they were being ruined. No one pities Egypt when a foreign nation resuscitates her trade and dams the Nile.”

The great difficulty in procuring expansion of commercial and industrial employment for young India lies not only in the extreme shyness of Indian capital but

also in the poorness of secondary education and in the reluctance of Indian youths to begin at the bottom of the ladder. The improvement of secondary education is the most imperious need of the country,\* and the root-defect in the characters of only too many Indian youths is that they expect too much at first. A passage in the report of the Bengal District Administration Committee brings out clearly this truth :—“ Posts and avenues of employment have indeed greatly increased in Bengal ; and if every man who wants work were content to take what he could get and be thankful, there would be few left idle in the market-place. But after careful enquiry in all directions, we have decided that many young men rate the value of school or college English education much higher than does the average-employer. Graduates and those who have passed the intermediate examination in Arts are very reluctant to serve away from the towns and decline to take any post which they consider an inadequate recognition of the credential which has rewarded their laborious efforts. Thus they lose chances and sometimes spend months or years loitering about some district headquarters, and living on the joint family to which they belong. As a general rule, they sooner or later accommodate themselves to circumstances, but often with an exceedingly bad grace and with a strong sense of injury received from Government—the universal scapegoat. So much for the successful in examination. The unsuccessful and those

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\* See Appendix XII.

who never proceed to examination, nevertheless generally consider that the mere fact of their English education places them well above the performance of manual labour or the acceptance of salaries which content relatives who have not learnt English at all. They frequently end by declining upon some poorly-paid post which just enables them to live."

It is disappointed young men of these classes who so eagerly accept the theory of the enormous and unnecessary cost to India of the salaries and pensions of British officials. They are taught that this burden on the country is one of the principal causes of their own poverty, and no one tells them that in fact British administration in India is conducted with a remarkably small staff of British officials.

#### Influence of the war.

The war, which first acted as a healer of discord, has latterly intensified educated Indian impatience of existing circumstances and racial distinctions. This added impatience is due partly to the spectacle of rebellion in Ireland, strikes in England, and revolution in Russia: but it is also caused by the persistent teaching of the Home Rule leaders that full advantage must be taken of the present moment if, when the hour of victory at last comes, it is to bring substantial concessions. Contributory influences are the services rendered to the Empire by Indian troops, and the fear, which seems now to have somewhat died down, that there will be a federation of Britain and

her Colonies which will associate the latter in a "white man's" government of India and in the regulation of Indian tariffs. In fact the political mind is occupied far more by plans and apprehensions for the future than by active concern for the great issue of the present. The enormous sacrifices that have been made, are being made, and must still be made, by Britain if she is to emerge victorious from a mortal struggle are but very faintly appreciated. It has not been lately understood that to worry her about selfish interests at a time when she is bearing far the heaviest burden that she has ever borne in all her strenuous history can, on reflection, hardly in the long run appeal to her gratitude. Nor is one lesson of the war practically recognised : the lesson that in the long run only those can rule India who are strong enough to hold the country by land and sea against any foes who choose to challenge them.\* It is an old enough lesson really, though it is now being driven home on the world with imperious force ; and it is appreciated by the Chiefs and by those gallant Indians who are fighting in the Empire's

\* " My Lord, from the time from which the memory of man runneth not to the contrary, India has attracted the cupidity of powerful rulers and States ; from time immemorial her eternal mountains have witnessed the march of invading hordes, and her mighty rivers have flowed past the battle-fields of contending armies. The peace and prosperity of this country have been interrupted by long periods of rapine and plunder, and the soil of India has seen the rise and decay of great and powerful empires."—*Speech by the Hon'ble Bhupendranath Basu in the Imperial Legislative Council—February the 21st, 1912.*

cause. The former are acquainted with the burdens and responsibilities of rule ; the latter are in touch with fundamental facts. Both Chiefs and soldiers have at considerable sacrifice rendered substantial services to the State during the war, but we do not hear of *their* "demanding" concessions, or devoting their energies to any but the one great object for which the whole Empire is striving.

**Conclusions.**

Government in India will become more and more parliamentary. The process has begun ; and there is an impatience which would accelerate it to break-neck speed. Were this to prevail, the day would soon come when it would be impossible to procure for the Indian services any British element, and we would renounce our grave responsibility for the welfare of the vast congeries of people round us "marching in uneven stages through all the centuries from the fifth to the twentieth." This responsibility cannot be shifted to particular classes as yet small in numbers\* and untrained in administration. It may be freely admitted that, despite extravagances, the leaders of these classes have done much to raise the

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\* The United Provinces, "the heart of India" containing one of the centres of the Home Rule agitation, have a population of over 47 millions. Of this population, according to the census figures of 1911, not two millions are literate at all, and English literates, excluding non-Indian Christians, number 35 per 10,000 in the case of males and 2 per 10,000 in the case of females. According to the census figures of 1911, in the whole of India 1·7 million persons are literate in English. The knowledge of English is spreading rapidly, but many of those who possess it take no interest in politics, and use this accomplishment simply as a means of obtaining a livelihood.

national sentiment and ideals of their countrymen ; but they hardly recognise how far their success is due to the inherent stability of British rule. All the time the helm has been in British hands. It is British administration, British enterprise, British capital, that have made room for the rise and expansion of Indian nationalism. This has been amply acknowledged by the founders of that creed ; but now their teaching is being often superseded by the doctrines of a new school which misreads the history of British administration in India and proclaims that the way to national life lies through fervent racialism and bitter contention. The efforts of this school are earnest ; they have generally been prosecuted with a complete impunity which has depressed and disheartened loyalists, and they have wrought on ever-growing classes. "The moving finger writes and, having writ, moves on." If the future is not to bring a deadly fermentation, such doctrines must be countered, and there must be sustained endeavours on our part to make English education more practical and better in kind than it is now. We must aim at a level of efficiency, which, combined with expanding industrialism, and improved methods of agriculture may procure a larger variety of employment, more prosperity, and juster ideas of the principles and objectives of British policy. We must also consider the nationalist point of view ; and we must remember that there are many in the political field who only join in agitation because they have reason to believe that it will pay and

are unwisely confident that it will never bring about some disastrous outbreak. Just now Indian politics are out of joint for anything but "demands" and menaces of "widespread unrest." But unless there is to be in the future some serious conflict, these cannot remain perpetually the most prominent features of the political programme. It has been proclaimed that in regard to the substance of things hoped for there is no difference between the British Government and Indian nationalism ; but, as Mr. Gokhale pointed out, a general advance of Indian nationhood can only come if Indians practically realise how many of their difficulties lie with themselves. It certainly will not come through racial jealousy and hatred. In his words "for better, for worse the destinies of India are linked with those of England," and it is idle to imagine that good can result from stimulating antagonism, and distrust between peoples who need each other so much. For there must be not only a large all-round advance of practical education, *but also thorough good-will on both sides* if any real self-government within the British Empire is not to bring the certain prospect of breakdown and violent racial rupture which will fatally compromise the future for all measurable time. Too many Indian Nationalists fail to realise this because they do not carry their thoughts on far enough, nor do they see that no regard for the sentiment of a class or even a few classes could, by itself, ever justify British abandonment of the great

undertaking to administer India for the benefit of *all* His Majesty's subjects resident therein. Not so lightly are grave responsibilities discarded, even if they involve the solid interests of all concerned. Will this never be apparent to Indian idealists, or will the ampler conditions of coming years, softening social asperities ; bring to Indian idealism a deeper insight into facts which are now generally obscured by the mists of political controversy ? For us, at any rate, the path is clear. In the words of Abraham Lincoln : " With malice toward none ; with charity for all ; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work that we are in."

THE END.



## APPENDIX I.

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Significance of Bande Mataram.

“ As to the exact significance of this poem a considerable controversy has raged. *Bande Mataram* is the Sanskrit for ‘ Hail to thee, Mother! ’ or more literally ‘ I reverence thee, Mother! ’ and, according to Dr. G. A. Grierson (*The Times*, 12th September, 1906), it can have no other possible meaning than an invocation of one of the ‘ mother ’ goddesses of Hinduism, in his opinion Kali ‘ the goddess of death and destruction.’ Sir Henry Cotton, on the other hand (*The Times*, 13th September, 1906), sees in it merely an invocation of the ‘ motherland ’ Bengal, and quotes in support of this view the free translation of the poem by the late W. H. Lee, a proof which, it may be at once said, is far from convincing. But though, as Dr. Grierson points out, the idea of a ‘ motherland ’ is wholly alien to Hindu ideas, it is quite possible that Bankim Chandra may have assimilated it with his European culture, and the true explanation is probably that given by Mr. J. D. Anderson in *The Times* of the 24th September, 1906. He points out that in the 11th chapter of the 1st book of the *Ananda Math* the *sanyasi* rebels are represented as having erected, in addition to the image of Kali, ‘ the Mother who Has Been,’ a white marble statue of ‘ the Mother that Shall Be,’ which is apparently a representation of the motherland. The *Bande Mataram* hymn is apparently addressed to both idols.

“ The poem, then, is the work of a Hindu idealist who personified Bengal under the form of a purified and spiritualized Kali. Of its thirty-six lines, partly written in Sanskrit, partly in Bengali, the greater number are harmless enough. But if the poet sings the praise of the ‘ Mother ’—

‘ As Lachmi, bowered in the flower  
That in the water grows,’

he also praises her as ‘ Durga’ bearing ten weapons, and lines 10,

11, and 12 are capable of very dangerous meanings in the mouths of unscrupulous agitators. Literally translated, these run: 'She has seventy millions of throats to sing her praise, twice seventy millions of hands to fight for her, how then is Bengal powerless ?' As S. M. Mitra points out (*Indian Problems*, London, 1908), this language is the more significant as the *Bande Mataram* in the novel was the hymn by singing which the sanyasis gained strength when attacking the British forces."—*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, *XIth edition, volume VI, page 9(b)*.

**APPENDIX II.****The Ottoman Khalifat.**

Muhammadans in India are rather sharply divided into Shias and Sunnis. According to Shias the Prophet, who belonged to the Koreish tribe of Arabs, on his death-bed recognised his son-in-law Ali as his spiritual and temporal successor (Khalif). He was, however, in fact succeeded by Abu Bakr, another of his companions whom he had deputed to take his place at the daily prayers. Abu Bakr was succeeded by Omar, and Omar by Othman. Both Omar and Othman belonged to the band of Muhammad's companions. Then Ali came in and was murdered after a short lease of power. He left two sons Hassan and Husain grandsons of the Prophet. Hassan abdicated and was succeeded by Muáwiya the representative of another tribe of Arabs. He was followed by Yezid; and Hassan rebelling against Yezid was killed, together with his son Ali, on the fatal field of Karbala.

The sad ends of a grandson and great-grandson of the Prophet shook Islam to its depths and is now yearly commemorated in the Muharram. It also apparently originated the Shia doctrine that Ali should have succeeded his father-in-law, and that therefore Abu Bakr, Omar, and Othman were not true Khalifs. But this doctrine was opposed by the Sunnis, the Muslims who hold by the sunnas or precedents. These basing their creed on the general allegiance of the Faithful, recognise the Khalifats of Abu Bakr, Omar, and Othman as well as the Khalifat of Ali.

The last of the dynasties of Arabian Khalifs came to an end in 1258, A.D. But about three centuries later the title was assumed by the Sultans of Turkey, as protectors of the Holy places and the most powerful Muhammadan sovereigns in the

world, although without pretensions of consanguinity to Muhammad. These claims have not been admitted by the Shias, but have been largely acknowledged by the Sunnis. The Shias are strong in Persia but comparatively weak in India. The Kings of Oudh were Shias. The Moghal Emperors were Sunnis. Both Shias and Sunnis intensely revere the Holy places of Arabia, Mecca, Medina, and Karbala, and regard it as essential that these should be in Muslim hands.

## APPENDIX III.

**Speech in the Imperial Legislative Council by Sir Reginald Craddock, Home Member of the Government of India, on the working of the Defence of India Act.**

“Sir,—I am afraid the Government of India is not able to accept either the resolution or the amendment, or to bind itself in any way by a modification of its rules, to provide for the appointment of a Committee or any other similar limitation. I should like to emphasise two points with reference to the general tenour of the remarks that have been made. As to the first, I should like to emphasise the fact that non-official members of this Council have no monopoly of objection to the curtailment of the liberty of anyone in any way. There is no Member of this Council, whether official or non-official, British or Indian, who likes to see the liberty of a British subject improperly controlled. I may say that to confine a man without trial is absolutely repugnant to British instincts, and Government officers do not lose their British instincts merely because their lives have been spent in India. It is not only men whose lives have been cast in India by whom the present action of Government in dealing with these men has been approved or recognised as a stern necessity. Our late Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, His Excellency the present Viceroy, and His Excellency Lord Carmichael have all felt it necessary to approve of the course that has been taken. Is there anybody who is bold enough to say that these men have lost their British instincts or their natural repugnance to the curtailment of anyone's liberty, unless the circumstances were such as left them no option ?

“The second point on which I wish to lay stress is one in which I feel sure that I shall have the agreement of every Member of the Council. At this time of supreme crisis we all would wish that nothing should be done, and no action taken

which would in any way impede the Government, however so little, in measures required to defeat and check the activities of the King's enemies. Sir, we have heard, both to-day and on previous occasions, orations from Hon'ble Members in which they say that they realise the gravity of the crisis in which the Empire is now placed. They have reiterated time after time that Indians are all determined to do nothing which is inconsistent with this desire to assist the Government in every way, or which is likely to impede it. Sir, the surface may appear entirely tranquil, but there are currents and eddies which, it may be, they do not realise, or that action such as they recommend would cause impediments of the kind to which I have referred. I feel sure that, if I could convince the Council that the course they recommend in this resolution is likely to be prejudicial to our means for combating the plots and conspiracies which are aimed at the subversion of constituted authority, at a time of crisis like the present, they would not be anxious to press on the Government action which may impede its power to repress all such dangerous movements.

#### **Lord Carmichael's Endeavours.**

" Now, Sir, I will proceed to make some observations upon the general disposition of the speeches that we have heard to-day. That general disposition has been to take for granted that a large number at least of those whose liberty has been restricted are innocent and to take it for granted that action has been taken merely on the information of police spies or on other uncheckered and entirely untested information. I will refer them to the Lahore trials. The Lahore trials showed exactly what has been taking place in the Punjab, and it is in the Punjab that a good number of such restrictions on liberty and internments in the villages, and so forth, have taken place. I will refer them also to the Benares Conspiracy case, which shows that in other parts of India also there were ramifications of these conspiracies,

and I will refer them to the speeches of His Excellency the Governor of Bengal. Now, I do not think that there is any man in this country, any provincial Governor, who has made more honest endeavours to take the public into his confidence than His Excellency Lord Carmichael. He assured them that he had himself scrutinised the information that he had available from sources on which he could rely ; that he had entered upon the action that he had taken with the greatest hesitation and reluctance. He asked for their trust, he asked for their confidence and, yet, after he had expressed his trust and had given, I say, all the information, the utmost information, that was possible for a man to give in such circumstances, the next day you find newspapers saying that the whole thing is a figment of the brain and that a mole-hill has been made into a mountain. Is that, Sir, any encouragement for a provincial Governor to take his people into confidence, and to ask them to sympathise with his difficulties and to believe him that he has done nothing that is not absolutely necessary for the safety of the country ?

" I do not wish to use any language of exaggeration. I do not say that these conspiracies are as yet extraordinarily large. If you could visualise the population of India depicted on a map, I say that the conspirators will be found to be a small speck among the millions that inhabit this land. But small though that speck may be—I will not say one word to minimise its blackness—it is a black speck, a dark spot, it is most contagious and already its poisonous spores have been spread over the country in various places, and if the sternest steps are not taken, it will spread and extend like a cancer until these small black spots become large diffused stains upon our map of the population. Sir, I would ask the Hon'ble Members of this Council to reflect, before they throw all these doubts upon the nature of the enquiries, or jump to conclusions that the majority of these men must necessarily be innocent. Statements of that kind, to my mind, reflect

upon the honesty of high and trustworthy police officers, both European and Indian, whose duty it is to handle these cases. And, Sir, more than that, they throw most cruel aspersions upon the memories of those gallant Indian officers who have lost their lives in tracking down these conspirators, and bringing them to justice.

### The Anarchists' Plot.

" Then, Sir, the point has been taken by some Hon'ble Members that the Defence of India Act is being used for purposes of civil administration and for purposes that are not connected with the war. Now, I have before me certain statements which have been obtained under circumstances which cannot be disclosed. If I could read the whole of these statements to the Council, I feel sure that Hon'ble Members would all be amazed. I cannot read them, but I can read a few extracts to indicate generally what is the nature of these conspiracies that have been going on. The paper that I hold in my hands, Sir, is a statement which extends to some thirty pages of print and is the tale told by a young man who became an anarchist at the age of 16 and contains all the chief incidents of his career during the last ten years. You will observe that it bears out what I have said about the close association of the Bengal conspirators with the enemies of the King-Emperor. He has described arrangements for causing a rising in this country in communication with the enemy. I will read an extract. After having given long details of the various negotiations and all the various arrangements that had been made, he says :

" ' We were extremely anxious to keep our plans as secret as possible up to the last moment, as our success depends solely upon taking the Government unawares. Numerically we thought we were sufficiently strong enough to deal with the troops in Calcutta and Bengal. The only thing we feared was reinforcements from

the other parts of India before we were sufficiently strong. We had expectations of about fifty thousand men joining in the first rising ; they were to join us from all parts of Bengal. We had counted upon about five thousand men in Calcutta itself to start the rebellion, and we had every hope of nearly 20,000 youths, mainly students, joining hands with us immediately afterwards. It was planned that the Hatia force was to march down to Calcutta after obtaining control of the Eastern Bengal districts where we expected no difficulties at all. The idea was that the Calcutta party was first to take possession of all the arms and arsenals round about Calcutta and only when we were able to equip the whole of our number with arms we were to attack Fort William and sack the town of Calcutta. The German officers were to be kept in Eastern Bengal to train and raise armies. All the fighting was to be confined to Western Bengal, whilst the three frontier parties hindered reinforcements. We had decided to reinforce these outposts from time to time, though we knew that they would not be able to hold off the Government troops for an indefinite period. All that we wished for was time to get together sufficient men.'

" That is the extract. The statement proceeds to go into many details ; and many of the details and information that he gives have been confirmed from many other sources, both in India and abroad. . . . . "

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The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: " I wanted to know if the statement was made in a court of justice. Am I right in thinking that it was not made in a court of justice ? "

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock : " If it had been made in a Court of Justice it would have been made public by this time."

#### More Evidence.

" I will now read another statement which was found in possession of a man not very long ago, which you may judge,

from its intrinsic evidence, is that of a man who had some experience, held some position in the counsels of the conspirators, and was addressing somebody who held perhaps even a higher position. I cannot read the whole letter, which extends to 22 pages, but I will read this extract :—

“ ‘ The first thing is—we do not like “ decisive victory ” on one side or the other in the “ European War.” It will be good if the war is prolonged and we guide our “ foreign affairs ” in accordance with that. It is true that the result will be an increase of oppression and *zulm* on us, but we do not take it as a bad omen. In spite of all the losses we have suffered during these two years, we have advanced far as a nation. We could not think of attaining our aim so soon had it not been for the war. We need not be afraid of “ internment.” We have been able to rectify our mistakes and omissions on account of this. Of course it will take time to make good our losses, but those among us who will be able to escape by throwing dust will be our “ brain ” and our main hope. We should not select as organisers of our mission those who expose themselves. Of course we will get them all in the end (last day); they won’t be able to get them out of our way by “ internment.” We have only got to decide the best way in which to get them on the final day.’

“ I may explain, Sir, that the ‘final day’ as shown by a previous reference in the letter, is the great day on which they are to have a rising to expel the British Government.

“ ‘ As some persons have absconded from their “ domicile ” they, i.e., the interned persons, are being lodged in the jail. I hope we will be able to control the jails in the long run. We should now see that none of them escape from the jail for in that case they might perhaps be “ transferred ” to “ The Fort or Military Camps,” in which case our work will be a little harder. Therefore, we should be careful even now, and even if they are removed to the Fort, we must consider how we

should proceed because we cannot afford to lose them on the last day; we will require them all."

The Home Member went on to quote further extracts from the statements in which the writer observed that the Germans hoped they would get a footing in this country if one party was on their side. The writer proceeded :—" Now, if we intend to look after our internal affairs, we must firstly think over the Muhammadan problem. We must judge whether both the parties could by any means stand on a common basis of Indian Nationalism. If that is not possible, it is necessary to deceive the Muhammadan with tact. On the other hand, we should let the Germans know (if necessary, false evidence is to be adduced) that both the parties have united in order to bring about a revolution in our country. That everything regarding the 'provisional Government' has been settled; that it will be a 'republic' and that the majority would be Muhammadans, etc. We must also be on the lookout to see that Germany does not play off one party against the other. It will not be possible to place very much reliance on the Muhammadan organisation though it is working jointly with us. (I am speaking in a general way as I have no accurate knowledge.) They can spoil everything in the long run. We must sketch out our plan of operations excluding them. If we can get their help, so much the better, but we must not depend too much on them and if they are against our plans, they should be tactfully deceived.

" Those extracts, Sir," (continued the Home Member) " that I have read out are, of course, merely two extracts out of statements innumerable which have been made by all sorts of men of the class who have been interned. But I would like to draw attention to the fact that our friend who wrote that second letter is evidently not seriously alarmed by the internments. He was looking to gain useful assistance even from those who were interned, and we do not see in his letter any evidence to suggest

that the foolish Government is locking up a lot of innocent persons, and that the guilty conspirators are escaping under their noses."

### The British Defence of the Realm Act.

"An appeal was made to us by some Hon'ble Members, notably by the Hon'ble Mr. Basu, to follow the lines that were followed in England under such circumstances. Well, I will just explain for a moment what does go on in England. We have obtained the information by direct reference. The order of internment by the Secretary of State issues before reference is made at all to the Advisory Committee. No reference is made to the Advisory Committee except when any individual interned has made a representation. No definite charge is made against a man beyond a statement in general terms of what it is understood he has done. He is not allowed the assistance of any counsels; the proceedings are *in camera*. Their recommendations are entirely unknown to the public, and the Government is not bound by the recommendations that they choose to make. As Lord Newton remarked. . . . ."

The Hon'ble Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, " May I ask if this is in reference to British subjects or aliens ?"

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock : "I will explain presently. As Lord Newton remarked in the House of Lords, 'I think it is perfectly obvious that in a state of war, the decision of the War Office or the Admiralty must be paramount.' There are other features in the cases we are dealing with in India and these dealt with under the English regulations which show what great differences there are in their character. The vast majority of persons dealt with in England are persons of alien birth or hereditary alien sympathies. They are living among a hostile population who are only too ready to denounce them, to bring up hearsay allegation, to place a sinister significance on what may

be quite innocent actions. In fact, they were, and are, possible victims of spy-mania by their neighbours. Secondly, when they are interned—I am referring now to the difference between the English Act and the Defence of India Act—when these aliens are interned (and they are not all aliens; some of them may be men born in England who have got German names, or some German history about them, and who have been suspected of making signals, or supplying information to the enemy), when they are interned, it is an internment within the four walls of a workhouse which has been converted into a prison, or sometimes in a prison, and they are really interned in the fullest sense of the term."

#### Position in India.

" Now, what is the position in India ? The persons with whom we are concerned in India and with whom we have to deal under the Defence of India Act are not denounced, nor likely to be denounced, by suspicious and unfriendly neighbours ; they are not of alien birth ; there is no prejudice against them among the population among whom they live ; and no one particularly suspects them of enemy sympathies. They really fall into two classes—I would specially refer to the remarks made by the Hon'ble Mr. Mazhar-ul Haq—they fall into two classes—

" One class is that of persons who are openly and avowedly preaching or publishing ill-will among His Majesty's subjects, or producing excitement or disquietude or arousing, it may be, dangerous fanaticism, and acting to the constant inconvenience of the King's Government and his officers and to the benefit of the King's enemies. In cases where persons are publicly making speeches or writing articles, and it is known what they are so doing, no one can deny that the only question to be decided is whether what they are doing is likely to be dangerous or prejudicial to the public safety or to excite the populace. You do not

require Advisory Committees to tell you that. The executive Government has to decide that upon the information before it, upon the knowledge and experience of its officers, and upon considerations of public welfare. The responsibility is theirs, and they cannot delegate it to outside persons, whether lawyers or laymen. The responsibility is theirs alone, and they must take that responsibility.

"The second class, and that is the class with which most of the speakers who have spoken this afternoon have been dealing, is the class of secret conspirators. In their case, as I have said, the neighbours are not likely to denounce them. Their acts, even if they arouse some suspicion, would probably not be made the subject of report. Apathy, fear or sympathy with the men—I do not necessarily say sympathy with their objects, but sympathy with the men—will always check such disclosures., I have already deprecated the suggestion, which have been made, that these men are interned merely on the information of stray-spies and informers. Many of these men have records going back for many years. Some of them have been wandering about the country in disguise and under various aliases ; other cases have been brought to light, as enquiries have proceeded and as clues were furnished by men who were deep in the conspiracy. Such clues, in many cases, led to the discovery of concealed arms and incriminating documents. Most of the statements have been made under the seal of secrecy, and most of them although in England they would be admissible as evidence before a court of law, in India are not admissible under the provisions of the Indian Evidence Act. In all cases the information in the possession of the police has been thoroughly scrutinised by high executive officers, and in Bengal by a selected judicial officer. The conclusions at which they have arrived have been formed when the converging lines of many sources of information alike meet upon that individual and show that he is the only man who could have fitted in into that particular

part which is assigned to him. We have heard a very eloquent speech from the Hon'ble Mr. Basu. He has dwelt in moving terms upon the despair and desolation of the Indian home from which one of these promising young men may have been taken and interned. I feel myself, Sir, and, I think, probably many of the Council will feel also, that harrowing scenes such as these, the truth of which I do not dispute, make it all the more imperative and necessary that all of us should do our best to check young men of this kind being misguided and led astray. I do not for a moment wish to minimise the sorrow that falls upon their households, but it is all the more imperative that no Member of this Council, no educated person throughout this country, and no one who has any influence, should leave anything undone to check the growth of this conspiracy which, as the Hon'ble Mr. Basu has very truly said, brings ruin and sorrow to so many homes. But although I admit all this, I should like to say a word of caution. It is that, although we may sympathise with young men who are deluded, yet there is always a danger that if you sympathise with the motive of the young man because you think it was good, you pass from sympathy of that kind to sympathy for the man himself, and finally your feelings are apt to be blunted as to the nature of what he is doing. I have enlarged at some length on the nature of what these young men are doing, and I say, however sorry we may feel for them and their parents, it is still our duty to discourage most sternly any secret conspiracies of this kind which are likely to prejudice the State and ruin the career of so many promising men. But perhaps I may be told by some that although they thoroughly recognise the bona fides of Government and although they wish to assist it, all they ask for is that the information obtained against these men should be laid before some sort of outside authority as a check on the executive. The Hon'ble Mr. Basu suggested that a panel of non-officials might perhaps be formed from whom men might be

selected for these cases. Well, Sir, His Excellency the Governor of Bengal said that that is not a safe proceeding and it is not one to which the Government can accede. It cannot undertake to lay documents of the kind from which I have just read a few extracts before people who are not responsible officers of the Government. It cannot place before outsiders secret information that it may have of the enemy's plots whether these be in the Far East, in Germany or across the Frontier. These things cannot be stated; they cannot be made public. It is quite true, no-doubt, that the non-official Member or Members on such a panel would not willingly wish to reveal anything that he had learned: but you know that the more the men you share these secrets among the more difficult it is to keep them secret and any information that did get about however unguardedly it might be given, might be dangerous to the lives of many men and prejudicial to the interests of the country. I am afraid, Sir, therefore, that we cannot consent in any way to bind ourselves by a rule such as that suggested by my Hon'ble friends. But I am willing to undertake this much, i.e., to instruct Local Governments that in every case which belongs to the second category that I have referred to, namely, that category in which you have first to ascertain the facts against a man before you can make a deduction as to whether his liberty is good or bad for the country, in that case—though even in that case not necessarily before—but before or after the order of internment, the proceedings should be examined by a judge or judges of some weight and experience in order that the Government may not act rashly or take action on information which admits of any considerable doubt. I must remind the Council that the wording of the Act itself is not that a man to be interned must necessarily be a criminal or have committed a criminal offence, but that it should be believed that he has acted, is acting, or is about to act, in a manner prejudicial to the safety of the country.

" And lastly, Sir, I would like to point out to this Council that many of them have been wringing their hands, perhaps unnecessarily, over pictures of interned men who are subjected to restrictions which affect their health and entirely cut short their studies. Well, Sir, all I can say about this is, that we are not dealing with men who are confined under the Regulations, but with men whose movements have been restricted under the Defence of India Act. In these cases the internment is far less severe. As I stated in answer to a question to-day by the Hon'ble Mr. Basu, a large number of them—173—are living in their own homes where they have every chance of home influence affecting them; but I would like to point out that in many cases home influence had already failed to protect them from the evils to which they are likely to succumb.

" I would add, Sir, one more point. I have no doubt whatever, as has been done in the past that if from time to time more information is received or if the interned person shows promise of penitence, or if he is not a very important person, or person not so dangerous as might have been thought, his liberty will be gradually restored to him. This action has been taken in the case of several men in the Punjab and of a few in Bengal and I have no doubt that Local Governments will continue to take it as occasion arises.

" Therefore although I am not without sympathy entirely, as I have shown by my speech, for the feelings that actuate Hon'ble Members, yet I must oppose the resolution and the amendments in so far as they in any way restrict the power of Government to administer the Defence of India Act in such a manner as to secure the safety of the realm."

**APPENDIX IV.****Reply by His Excellency Lord Chelmsford to the Press  
Act Deputation.**

“Gentlemen: I think you will admit that it is unusual for a Viceroy to receive a deputation of this nature, but when you sought permission to wait on me I put aside precedent because I thought it well to meet you face to face to hear your representations and to give you a clear and frank answer to those representations. I presume at the time of making your request you weighed the fact that the Empire is in the throes of a life-and-death struggle and that such a time is hardly the moment at which to raise even such an important matter as this. But you must not take my ready consent to receive you to mean that I considered the moment you had chosen opportune. I put aside, however, this consideration, though it has meant that precious time has had to be devoted to a matter which might well have awaited a more convenient season. I shall not dwell further on this point. I merely mention it because I want to show that in a matter like this I am always ready to meet those who feel they have a grievance to advance.

“Let me make one more preliminary observation. You are here as representatives of the Press to complain of certain legislation which embodies the attitude of the Government of India towards certain aspects of journalism. The function of the Press informing public opinion holds within its compass the possibilities of an ideal as high and noble as any that can be imagined. You have each and all of you the right to be proud of the profession to which you belong and I find it a little embarrassing to discuss with you, however dispassionately, matters which may be taken to reflect upon the methods in which journalism is, or may be, or has been, conducted in India. You

have yourselves placed me in that position, and I only ask you if you find yourselves in disagreement with what I say, to acquit me of any courtesy and to realise that I am dealing with the question in the abstract and not in any sense whatever are my remarks to be taken as having any personal application.

#### A Free Press.

" You have rightly abstained from addressing to me any elaborate argument in defence of the principle of a free Press. It is a principle that commands the instinctive adherence of every Englishman. I am an Englishman, and I can assure you that my education, my training, my inherited instincts, all bias me in this matter and the bias is not against your case but in favour of it. Anything in the nature of muzzling the Press strikes right across the grain of my whole being.

" If, therefore, I find that so broad-minded an Englishman as Lord Minto found it necessary to pass an Act such as that of which you complain; that so staunch an apostle of liberty as Lord Morley approved of it as Secretary of State; and that my predecessor saw no reason to relax the restrictions it imposes, I venture to think that there must be a better case than you are disposed to admit in favour of this much-abused Press Act.

" In paragraph 3 of your memorial you say that Sir Herbert Risley, at that time Home Member, promised that the Act should be repealed when the necessity for it had ceased to exist. I will quote his words: ' I am afraid I can hold out no hopes that I am going to accept this amendment, that it should remain in force for only three years. It will involve a very serious danger and impair the effectiveness of the Bill. When again the Press is temperate in tone and honest in intention, then it will be possible to repeal that law, but we cannot predict with any degree of certainty that that end will be attained after two or three or even after five years. If the people concerned have themselves applied the remedy that we desire, nothing will be

easier than to repeal the Act.' I think, perhaps, you are straining the meaning of these words when you suggest that they contain a promise and I cannot help feeling that when the time comes that he adumbrates no one will ask for the repeal of this law; for journalists will have ceased to be tempted to step over the bounds and will no longer regard the Press Act as, to use your own phrase, 'the sword of Damocles.'

#### **The I. P. C. ineffective.**

"In paragraph 4 you have suggested that the Press as a whole was made to suffer for the crimes of a small section, and that the majority of that small section, if not all of them, had ceased to exist before the Act came into force by the operation of the ordinary law and the failure of the demand for pernicious literature. In the debate on the Bill three papers were mentioned as having been suppressed under the operation of the ordinary law, but I cannot find any authority for the statement that the supply had ceased owing to the failure of the demand for pernicious literature and, though the powers of the law may have been sufficient to check open incitement to violence, the following extract from the speech of Sir Harold Stuart, at that time Secretary to the Home department, shows that there was a great deal more to be done: 'The existing law has failed in several directions. It has no doubt brought about a great diminution, if not an entire cessation, of open incitements to violence and any success which has been obtained in that way, is a strong argument in favour of the Bill, for such success must, I think, be attributed to the fact that for incitements of that kind, these violent incitements to murder, the offending Press can be forfeited, but the application of the existing law to ordinary seditious publications, the kind of seditious matter which is defined in the Indian Penal Code, has failed to produce the desired improvement.' That law has been systematically enforced since June, 1907, as the Hon'ble Member in charge

of the Bill, pointed out, not a single prosecution has failed, yet seditious libels continue to be published and at the present moment several cases are pending before the courts. The punishments inflicted have been severe but they have not been deterrent; they have not even deterred the convicted paper from offending again. We have had three papers convicted twice and against one of these a third prosecution is now pending. We have had two papers convicted three times and we have had another paper convicted six times. In no case, however, has the prosecution deterred the conductors of those papers from again giving vent in their journals to seditious libels. Prosecution, indeed, often gives an advertisement to the offending paper and its circulation increases directly with conviction.

"If I understand you aright, you claim, in paragraph 5, that the Act was directed mainly against incitements to crimes of violence and not so much against papers which erred against the provisions of sub-section (c) of clause 4, but I think if you will read the discussion as a whole you will find that in the justification of the Bill more emphasis was laid upon the considerations underlying that clause than upon any other, and I find myself in honest disagreement with you about the traps and pitfalls that beset your path; for I think Sir James Fitzjames Stephen was right when, in dealing with section 124(a) of the Indian Penal Code, he said in Council : 'I do not believe that any man who sincerely wished not to excite disaffection ever wrote anything which any other honest man believed to be intended to excite disaffection.' And do we not hear almost an echo of these words in the judgment of one of the Judges of the Madras High Court in the Besant case : 'No one could write these passages without the intention of exposing Government to hatred and contempt?'

#### The Operation of the Act.

"Turning to the second portion of your paragraph 5 your arguments would lead one to suppose that this Act had been

worked by the Local Governments with great harshness and indiscretion and I have had a careful search made of the records of the Government of India, but I cannot find that a single case of that character has been brought to our notice and, on the other hand, the Government of India were careful from the first to issue instructions enjoining leniency and discrimination. In no single case has an appeal to a High Court against the Local Government's orders succeeded and in the majority of cases the Court has definitely branded the articles complained of as objectionable.

"Perhaps it will make the case a little clearer if we look at the statistics of the operation of this Act since 1910. Take newspapers first : 143 have been warned once, 44 twice, and 30 thrice or oftener. Only three have had their first security forfeited and not one its second. As regards Presses : 55 have been warned once, nine twice, and five thrice or oftener. Thirteen have had their first security forfeited; only one its second. I cannot agree with you that this evidences illiberal action on the part of the executive authority, and in this period, if your argument holds good, we should surely expect to find a steady diminution in the number of presses, newspapers, and periodicals. But what are the facts ? The presses have increased from 2,736 in 1909-10 to 3,237 in 1915-16 ; newspapers from 726 to 857, and the periodicals from 829 to 2,927. And these figures do not support the theory that a journalist's career is as perilous as you suggest.

#### A Picture of Official Terrorism.

" You pass on, in paragraphs 7, 8, and 9, to produce a picture of official terrorism, which I cannot but hope is highly-coloured and you use such an expression 'in the multitudinous and oppressive consequences of the Act,' but you have carefully confined yourselves to the use of general terms and I do not, therefore, propose to reply to this part of your representation at any length.

" The Association which you represent was formed only in December, 1915, for the defence of the interests of the Press in

general and is as yet in its infancy. You will probably become a very influential body and you say that already numerous complaints have reached you from all parts of the country of abuse of the powers that have been given by the Act. Let me repeat that it is not the wish of the Government that the Act should be administered with harshness or without discrimination and they have issued definite instructions to that effect and, let me suggest that in future where, when such complaints reach you, you should investigate them with care, satisfy yourself as to their truth and, if you are convinced that a grievance is revealed, bring it to the notice of Government. Neither Government nor Government officials are impenetrable, but I think you ought to give them all alike credit for honest intentions and assume that if you can satisfy them that a good cause of complaint exists, they will do their best to remove it. But when you say you fear that sanction under section 4 is often too easily granted, I must ask you in all good faith whether the actual record of 13 cases in six years throughout the whole of India can seriously be taken as suggesting a reckless use of this section ?

\* \* \* \* \*

#### Present Conditions.

“ In paragraph 13, you claim that the Press is now honest and law-abiding and that all necessity for restriction has disappeared. Is that not rather arguing in a circle ? Because a river has been embanked and thus prevented from flooding the surrounding country, do the engineers say : ‘ This river is now safe and we will not trouble to maintain the embankment ? ’ I do not think you can urge that because floods have been controlled that the possibility of their recurrence has disappeared. The history of the Press in India is against your theory. In 1878 a growing section of the Indian Press was expressing covert or open hostility to Government. The passing of the Act of that year exercised a restraining influence, but when it was removed there was a

recrudescence of malevolent hostility. From 1884 to 1898 a section of the Press steadily grew more scurrilous, more malignant, more seditious, until the penal law had to be strengthened, in 1898, but even that was not sufficient. Misrepresentation and vilification of Government, and even overt sedition, went steadily on until the Newspapers (Excitement to Violence) Act was passed in 1908 and it was only when that proved inadequate that the Press Act of 1910, now under discussion, really checked the flood that was spreading over the land. Do not think I am framing an indictment against the Press of India as a whole or against journalism as it is now conducted. I am only recounting the facts that led up to the debates in the Legislative Council on the Act of 1910. Those debates did not touch the case of the many well-conducted and responsible papers then any more than I am doing now; but that the danger then was great and serious I do not think that you dispute, and if you say the danger has passed away I cannot agree with you; for so long as there are papers in India, as there still are, that in pursuit of their own ends think it right to magnify the ills from which she suffers; to harp upon plague, famine, malaria, and poverty and ascribe them all to the curse of an alien Government, so long as there are papers that play on the weaknesses of impressionable boys and encourage that lack of discipline and of respect for all authority that has done so much to swell the ranks of secret revolution; so long as it is considered legitimate to stir up hatred and contempt in order to foster discontent, I feel that any relaxation of the existing law would be followed, as surely as night follows day, by a gradual increase of virulence until we should come back to the conditions that prevailed before the passing of the Act.

#### Examples quoted.

" There will be some that will hold up their hands in horror at the suggestion that such things as I have indicated are still to be found in the Press, but here is an extract that I should like

to read to you : ‘The meaning of Imperialism is that a powerful nation thinks that it is justified in depriving a weaker people of their liberty and retaining that people under their rule in perpetual slavery on the plea of civilising them and bettering their lot.’ Here is another : ‘If the Indian rulers had given effect to the terms of the Royal Proclamation of 1858 India would not have been converted into a land of permanent famine and pestilence and its children into a race of effeminate weaklings.’ What is this but to exaggerate the ills of India and to ascribe them all to Government ? Listen to this ; it is part of a long article : ‘The same feeling of pity possesses the populace when they stand face to face with political crimes committed by youthful and misguided idealists. They know that these young men come fully prepared for sacrificing their own lives in the discharge of the work entrusted to them. The gallows have absolutely no terrors for them. To send them to the gallows would not hinder but, on the contrary, very materially help their criminal propaganda. This has been the universal experience of history in these matters. Those who are already in sympathy with this criminal propaganda will not be cowed down by their chastisement but will rather look upon their punishment as martyrdom and draw fresh inspiration from it for carrying on their work. Everybody except the official machinist and the purblind publicist understands all this.’

“ Now, hear, not what I think about it, but what a High Court Judge has to say about this article : ‘This seems to me most pernicious writing and writing which must tend to encourage political assassination by removing public detestation of such crimes. ‘*New India*’ is presumably read by numbers of excitable young men animated (and not unnaturally) by the same ideal which the writer ascribes to the assassins but which it is impossible for any right-minded person to connect with their crimes. Such young men are practically told that the assassins are

pursuing the same ideal as themselves with singular courage and disregard of self, and that such criminals should not be punished but convinced of the folly of their ways. The article presents the assassins to such young men, and to the public generally, in a far more favourable light than any ordinary person would have viewed them in and, although it may not amount to incitement, it certainly seems to me to give encouragement to the commission of crimes which undoubtedly fall within section 4 (1).'

"I do not wish to detain you, but I must still give you a few more extracts. A poet writes: 'How long will the blood of the innocent people be shed and how long will we writhe in agony?' He prays God to release Indians from this miserable condition. He complains that they have lost their wealth, honour, and all good qualities. He enquires what can be worse than their present condition. Another poet says: 'When will the oppressions of the wicked cease in India; when will the enemies of Indians be crushed and how long will this cruel oppression of the weak continue?' Yet another: 'Slavery has deprived Indians of wealth, honour and freedom and has reduced them to destitution and starvation. What further harm is it going to cause to India? Will it drain their very blood? It has paralysed their limbs and muzzled their mouths? Why is it so mercilessly pursuing them? God gave equal liberty to all. Why then should accursed slavery be oppressing Indians?' And here is one more: The arrest is legal, doubtless, but it is truly unlawful. The breaking of the sacred law of justice which holds society together when injustice is perpetrated, when crimes are committed legally, when innocence is no protection and harmless men are treated as criminals, then we live in a condition of anarchy no matter what legal sanction may cover the wrong-doer. Civilisation does not protect us. We should be better off in a state of savagery; for then we should be on our

guard. We should carry arms and protect ourselves. We are helpless. We pay taxes to be wronged.'

### **Stirring up Hatred and Contempt.**

" What are these but stirring up hatred and contempt ? Do you come before me to-day as journalists to say that you do not regret that such sentiments should have appeared in the public Press ? Do you suggest that language like this can have no ill-effect and that you are prepared to see such things said every day through the length and breadth of India ? Are these, I would ask you, the writings of persons whose loyalty and good intentions and honesty of purpose are unquestioned but who have unwittingly fallen into a trap which the Act has laid for them ? Can I judge the tree except by its fruit ? These are not extracts from the old files of 1910 ; they are cuttings from newspapers of 1916. If the terrors of the Act to which you have so freely adverted are not sufficient to prevent the publication of such stuff as this, will you tell me what would happen if the Act were repealed ? Can you blame me if with such publications before me—and I am afraid I could find you more in the same strain—I refuse to assent to your assurance that the Press of India has purged itself and that the time has come to accord to it once again the freedom which should be its pride no less than its privilege ?

### **An Appeal to the Press.**

" In conclusion, let me thank you for the courteous hearing that you have given to so much that I fear you may disagree with, and let me ask your kindness to excuse any words that I have used that may have caused offence, remembering that this discussion was not of my seeking. You have stated your case with frankness and I have given you credit for wishing that there should be no lack of frankness in my reply. Gentlemen, I can assure you that nothing gives me greater pain than having to reply to you as I have done. It would have been a great

pleasure to have been able to meet you and to have announced the removal from the Statute-book of a measure which cannot but be regarded as a slur on the good name of the Press. For myself, I recognise the importance of healthy criticism of the Government and I always value the help which I get from such criticism. It is always by my orders put before me and I can assure you that I harbour no feelings of resentment in respect of it. Now, this being so, cannot your Association take the matter into your own hands ? You, I am sure, deplore the extravagant statements which I have read and you must acknowledge the mischief which they work on young and impressionable minds. I look forward to the day when Government will have no need to use such measures; for the Press itself will have taken the matter into its own hands. I beg of you to think the matter over and see whether you yourselves cannot hasten that day."

## APPENDIX V.

Extracts from Articles in Issues of Mrs. Besant's Paper *New India.*

(a) From the issue of January the 1st, 1917—

"The present system, tried for more than half a century, has been found wanting. Indians have grown in education, in ability, in power; they have come into their own and they rightly want to be controllers of their own purse, and refuse to let foreigners squander their money on objects and projects which are not of much benefit to them. They want to spend their money usefully and for a good purpose. They want their wealth spent on the education of their younger generation and not on enabling foreigners to exploit their country; they want to revive and build up their own industries, and not to help others to export their raw products to foreign countries and import them in the shape of finished articles of everyday use: they want to spend more money on irrigation, which helps the poor agriculturists, and not on railways, which aids the rich trader and foreign trader at that. For the sake of new India we want a new political programme, and we are thankful to the Congress for having provided one."

(b) from the issue of January the 9th—

"And we must have self-government *immediately* after the war, before the real reconstruction of the Empire is wrought, in order that when it takes place, India should not suffer on account of her subordinate position."

(c) From the issue of January the 12th—article by Mrs. Besant—

"Thanks also are due to Bombay for choosing Lokmaniya Tilak as one of its representatives on the All-India Congress Committee for 1917, thus promoting good-feeling and burying past discords . . . . Seven and a half years of his life have been taken from him, but his martyrdom has raised him

on high, with all his suffering turned to power, and his life-work will be more plenteous in results than if his opponents had left him to go on with his labours unassailed. Such is God's recompense to those who suffer for righteousness' sake. It is strange that a Christian Government has not yet learned the lesson of the Cross."

(d) From the issue of April the 27th—in reference to a speech by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab—

" If only these Government officials, who think themselves so wise, would understand that their repressive policy in the past and the economic conditions brought about by their administration are alone responsible for all anarchy in Bengal and the Punjab and for the restlessness prevailing elsewhere, they would be serving the cause of the Empire."

(e) From the issue of the 1st of May and relating to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab—

" The poor little attempt at rebellion which he killed out so harshly did not need so much judicial bloodshed; and though a Viceroy may praise, the Indians will condemn."

(f) From the issue of the same date—a speech by Mr. Tilak at Yeotmal—

" To get Home Rule means so to bring about things that the authorities will do the will of the people . . . . We want millions of people to join the Home Rule League . . . . Leave it to your leaders to fight lawfully with the Government . . . . Home Rule is our goddess; we will make any legitimate sacrifice for her and worship her . . . . If you will help the League fearlessly you will be able to get the fruit of your labours in this very life."

(g) From the issue of the 23rd of May—

" The President of the United States talks about a League of Free Nations . . . . not even remembering that England has established in Asia the most powerful autocracy in the world,

has fathered more repressive acts than the Central Powers can boast, interns the youth of the country by hundreds, untried and unsentenced, and restrains the liberty of peaceful citizens to travel freely over the land. All the pæans sung over the successful revolt (in Russia) sink into the minds of Indians who, like Mary ‘ponder these things in their hearts’ and marvel at the difference between England in Europe and England in Asia. Madras is plastered all over with appeals to fight for justice and righteousness on the far side of the Suez Canal.”

Extract from the same issue—relating to the Revolutionaries.—

“Desperate they broke away from the control of their elders, began to conspire, and numbers of them have conspired ever since. Some have been hanged; some were sent to the living death of the Andaman Islands; some were imprisoned here. Now the students watch with amazement the Premier of Great Britain rejoicing over the results of the similar action of young Russian men and women who conspired, and blew up trains and assassinated a Tsar, and who are men now applauded as martyrs, and the still living of whom are being brought back in triumph to Russia whose freedom they have made possible. The names which were execrated are held sacred, and sufferings are crowned with triumph.”

(h) From the issue of the 2nd of May—an article entitled “The Great Betrayal”—

“That veto (at the Imperial War Conference) compels India to remain a plantation, that which the East India Company made her, destroying her indigenous manufactures to that end, the manufactures which had created her enormous wealth, the wealth which lured the Western nations to her shores . . . . The policy which reduced the Indian masses to poverty and brought about the Rebellion of 1857, consisted of keeping India as a reservoir of raw materials . . . . The Imperial Conference now proposes to continue the process, but to deprive India of the

small advantage she possessed of selling her raw materials in the new European market, and thus obtaining a price fixed by the need of competing nations. She is to sell her cotton within the Empire at a price fixed to suit the colourless purchasers of England and the Dominions, fixed in a market controlled by them, fixed to give them the largest profit and reduce her to the lowest point. . . . She will be paid the lowest price which her necessities compel her to accept and will become the wage-labourer, the wage-slave of the Empire. . . . Such is the great betrayal of India by the Government of India nominees. But they have made one thing clear. Unless the coming of Home Rule be hastened, so that India is freed before the great battle for Imperial preference is fought out, India will be ruined. The trio of Government delegates, in concert with the Secretary of State for India, have voted away all hope of India's industrial regeneration."

## APPENDIX VI.

**Sir Michael O'Dwyer on the danger of the Home Rule propaganda in the Punjab.**

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“That brings me to the question of the Home Rule propaganda.

“Hon’ble members will remember that some two months ago my Government passed orders forbidding two gentlemen who were prominently identified with that propaganda from entering the province. I took that action not because I desire to stifle or repress any reasonable political discussion, but because I was, and am, convinced that an agitation for Home Rule in this province on the lines advocated by the leaders of the movement, and as it would be interpreted by those to whom it would be addressed, would stir up the dying embers of the revolutionary fires which we have almost succeeded in extinguishing, and set parts of the province in a blaze once more. I desire to make the attitude of Government in this matter quite clear. Government, while opposed to any sudden or catastrophic constitutional change, recognises that among a large section of the community there is a growing desire, and a natural desire, for an increased measure of self-government.

“His Excellency the Viceroy in the Imperial Council on 7th February formally stated that the ‘expediency of broadening the basis of government and the demand of Indians to play a greater part in the conduct of affairs in this country are not matters which have escaped our attention.’ He added that proposals had been submitted to the Home Government and asked the Council to remember that the consideration of certain constitutional questions affecting a portion of the Empire might have to yield place for a time to the more urgent task of so prosecuting the war as to ensure the preservation of the Empire.

"But, gentlemen, the increasing measure of self-government by steady and orderly change for which this country will fit itself as education spreads, as causes of disunion diminish, and as large numbers of the vast population gain political experience, is something very far from the sudden upheaval, and the startling transfer of political authority into ignorant and inexperienced hands, which the protagonists of Home Rule contemplated in their extravagant demands. Such changes would be as revolutionary in their character, and, I believe, as subversive of the existing constitution, as those which the 'Ghadr' emissaries endeavoured to bring about. Indeed it is not without significance to find that the watchword of the thousands who participated in the dacoities of the South-West Punjab two years ago and of many of the men who fomented the 'Ghadr' Conspiracy on the Pacific coast was *swaraj* or Home Rule, and that the hundreds of emigrants who returned to the Punjab to spread rebellion in the province by fire and sword, claimed that their object was to establish Home Rule. It may be urged that this was the crude interpretation of a legitimate and constitutional ideal by ignorant men. That may be so; but what we have to consider is not the ideal in the mind of the political philosopher in his arm-chair or the journalist at his desk, but the ideal conveyed to the average man, and we have had positive proof based on judicial findings, of several experienced tribunals, that of the thousands of Punjabis to whom the *swaraj* or Home Rule doctrine was preached in America, some hundreds at least set themselves as early as possible to realize that ideal by the sword, the pistol, and the bomb. Take even a more convincing case.

"The so-called 'Dr.' Mathra Singh, who recently suffered the extreme penalty of the law, was one of the most active and dangerous of the revolutionary leaders. He was the expert bomb-maker; he was also a man widely-travelled and of superior

education, very different from the ignorant dupes whom he enmeshed in the conspiracy. Yet this man, though his hands were steeped in crime, asserted to the last that he was merely acting as an advocate of Home Rule. We have to judge men not by their words but by their acts : we have to judge movements not by the ideals that perhaps inspire their leaders, but by the results they have produced, or are likely to produce, on the community. Applying those tests, can any reasonable man say that the Home Rule propaganda is one which could be preached in the Punjab to-day without serious danger to the public peace and to the stability of the Government ?

“ One more remark before I leave this subject.

“ The case of Home Rule for Ireland is often cited as an argument in their favour by those who advocate Home Rule for India. At the risk of entering into the thorny field of Irish politics I may say there is no analogy between the two cases.

“ The Home Rule movement in Ireland aimed at the restoration of the status—a separate legislature and a separate executive, though with limited powers—which Ireland had enjoyed for centuries down to the Union of 1800. The great majority of the Irish people supported the movement, and many of those who wished well to Ireland, even if they did not count on any material advantages from Home Rule, were inclined to favour the scheme on sentimental and historical grounds, and looked forward to the time when the softening of racial and religious asperities would enable all classes to combine for the restoration and the successful working of the system of self-government, which in one form or another Ireland had for centuries enjoyed. That was a lofty and a generous ideal. Unfortunately, the nearer it came to realisation, the greater became the practical difficulties ; the old feuds and factions were revived with increasing bitterness and threatened civil war. A year ago one section of the supporters of Irish *swaraj* (the Sinn Fein or

*Swadeshiists*) following in the footsteps of our Punjabi *swarajists* allied themselves with the King's enemies and brought about an abortive rebellion. That was speedily suppressed, but it has left a fatal legacy of distrust and ill-feeling which all good Irishmen, whatever their creed or politics, deplore ; for it has prevented Ireland from bearing the full share in the defence of the Empire. Well, gentlemen, the conclusion I would ask you to draw is this. If the Home Rule movement, after a hundred years of agitation, has so far produced no better results among a people fairly enlightened and homogeneous, in a country no larger or more populous than a single division in the Punjab, what result can we expect from it in this vast continent, with its infinite variety of races, creeds, and traditions, and its appalling inequalities in social and political development ? What results would we expect from it even in our own province ? In the matter of Home Rule I fear the case of Ireland, in so far as it is analogous at all, conveys to us a lesson and a warning."

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## APPENDIX VII.

**Lord Pentland on the Home Rule Propaganda.**

" This leads me to make observations upon another topic. You are all aware that since the beginning of the war an active agitation has been initiated throughout India, having for its purpose the advocacy of the grant to India of responsible self-government at the close of the war, which, it is assumed, means at a very early date. Self-government is the salt and strength of the British Empire. It stands or falls on self-government, and you know well how it is standing now for justice and freedom all the world over and that all parts of it will at all times welcome any signs of growth in the willingness and capacity of Indians to undertake in increasing measure a share in the administration of India. It has been said that prosperity makes friends and adversity tries them, and it is some compensation for the common sufferings and anxieties of the past three years that they already seem to have increased the mutual goodwill and understanding between all parts of the British Empire. Those of us too who have the opportunity and privilege of acquiring a more or less closer acquaintance with the conditions of Indian life and feeling rejoice, as I do heartily, to be able to testify to an awakening sense of responsibility and a gradual but steadily increasing fitness of Indians to take part in the administration of Indian affairs. Such reforms, however, represent only a small and minor portion of the demand now put forward and do not satisfy, even for the immediate future, those who are responsible for the advocacy of the early grant of responsible self-government to India.

" It is not the province of this Council, nor is it my intention, to discuss the published proposals of the leaders of this movement. These proposals will, no doubt, receive the careful consideration of those to whom they were addressed. However honest his

intentions may be, the candid friend is never popular, but as a sincere friend I shall venture to be candid. Let us endeavour, honestly and candidly, to measure the situation. If, as stated far and wide, Home Rule means nothing less than at a very early date the placing of the executive government in all its departments under the direct and full control of Legislative Councils containing a large majority of elected members, then I feel sure that I carry you with me when I say that among Indians acquainted with public affairs nobody having any true sense of responsibility considers it or will declare it within the range of practical politics; yet it is this which the present political propaganda seeks to persuade the educated classes in India to expect. On the other hand, progress is to be steady and not rapid, as the Viceroy said the other day, that is to say the ideal is to be attained by slow and orderly change. Those of us who have the honour of taking any part in the government of India or any portion of India are working for and accelerating the approach towards that ideal, however distant it may be. Here and now it is impossible for us to foresee what reforms in these respects will be proposed for India at the close of the war.

"Whatever they may be, they will fall far short of the proposals to which I have alluded; yet there is no sign of any relaxation of this agitation, and the educated classes in India are being led to expect that which will not come, and in some cases that which they know well cannot come. It is obvious that this situation contains the elements of misunderstanding, of difficulty, and, possibly, of friction. The present concern of the Madras Government is not with a final solution of this problem, but with the possible reaction upon public opinion in this Presidency of the situation which I have tried to describe. To ignore the facts is to deceive ourselves. To ignore the warnings from such sources is to court disappointment and humiliation—feelings which among ill-informed and irresponsible people, however

sincere and well-intentioned, may provoke serious difficulties. For any such difficulties the leaders of this agitation and all who support and sympathise with them will be directly responsible. Against all advice and warning they have chosen to initiate and persist in this agitation at a most unsuitable time. One-sided discussion is always possible ; fruitful discussion is quite another matter, and in the full sense manifestly impossible at the present time. Throughout the whole of the British Empire the utmost efforts and the best brains are focussed upon the immediate tasks of the war, and it is futile to expect men in high office or leaders of public opinion anywhere to concentrate their attention at such a time upon the subject of Indian government. The result is that the discussion is wholly one-sided, not subjected even to a friendly criticism, misleading as to the real condition of opinion, and thus inevitably unsuitable and unsafe as a guide to action. That this is largely recognised among the educated classes in India, I am of course well aware. I can well believe that many recognise that a movement conducted on such lines and by such methods is an untimely and ill-judged departure, far more likely to shake the confidence of their friends on the fitness of Indians for self-government than to further the development of that self-government in any sphere. Unfortunately, too—and in this lies the greatest danger—this agitation has employed, and continues to employ, as the most obvious if not the main, instrument of its purposes, the publication and widespread dissemination of unbalanced and intemperate criticisms directed against those who are responsible for the present government of this country.

“ Honest and well-intentioned criticism is never unwelcome, and I am aware that these critics have declared themselves to be the opponents of revolutionary methods of agitation, and that they advocate their views on the ground of their loyalty to the person of the King-Emperor and to the British Monarchy as an

essential link of the Empire. But it is quite impossible to accept these pleas as justifying this campaign of constant detraction and condemnation directed against the action and the motives of officials in the service of Government in all its departments. That any such justification should be suggested indicates a complete absence of practical sagacity and political instinct on the part of those who are responsible for it.

" Whatever changes the future may bring let me ask you as men of affairs to face the present situation in the interest of progress as well as of order. All thoughts of the early grant of responsible self-government should be put entirely out of mind, and all violence of language should be condemned. I would appeal to all men of leading and of influence, whether personal or hereditary, to dissociate themselves always from this unfortunate agitation as it is at present being conducted. In the meantime, the Madras Government is directly responsible for the good government of this Presidency. This reckless campaign of calumny directed against it can have no other result than to lower the authority of all Government officials and servants with all classes and especially among those large masses of people who are unthinking and inexperienced in public affairs. It is fraught with real danger not only to good government but to the law-abiding spirit and goodwill among all classes, which at present exist in this presidency and upon which all good government must ultimately rest, and on behalf of my Government I call upon all who hear me or read these words for their support in any action which the Government may be forced to take to discourage these unwise and dangerous methods and the extravagant aims which they are designed to further."

**APPENDIX VIII.****Speech by the Hon'ble Sir James Meston on India's Future  
and her present Duty.**

" At the outset you will, I think, be interested to hear some account at first-hand of those two great Councils of Empire which I was recently privileged to attend. The Imperial War Cabinet was the British Cabinet, enlarged, for the first time in the nation's history, to include the leading statesman of the Oversea Dominions and representatives of India. It met in the Prime Minister's official house in Downing Street, and its work continued from the middle of March until early in May. Its results may best be described in the Prime Minister's own words : ' It had prolonged discussions,' he said, ' on all the vital aspects of British Imperial policy and came to important decisions which will enable us to prosecute the war with increased unity and vigour, and will be of the greatest value when negotiations for peace come to be discussed.'

" The Imperial Conference as opposed to the Cabinet sat in the Colonial Office during the same period, and dealt with subjects which were either of too detailed a character for consideration by the Cabinet or such as the delegates of the different countries could settle among themselves without the intervention of the British Ministers. The relations between the Conference and the Cabinet were close. They met as a rule on alternate days ; and questions would occasionally be referred by the Cabinet to the Conference when they seemed to require preliminary and informal examination, while the Conference would submit to the Cabinet matters which in the course of discussion assumed a wider importance than the former body's ordinary consultation.

" At both those momentous Councils India was strongly represented. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, Sir Satyendra Sinha, and myself went to England technically as advisers and

assistants to the Secretary of State. But there was no standing on technical punctilio. All three of us attended, with the Secretary of State, every meeting of the Cabinet and of the Conference, and had precisely the same opportunities of taking part in their deliberations as any other member of these assemblies. Mr. Chamberlain, while consulting us fully in private, accorded us the position of colleagues and coadjutors in public. To him we were indebted for unfailing courtesy and consideration; and by his recent resignation (if I may say so in parenthesis) India loses one of the truest and most chivalrous friends who has ever served her cause in the high office of Secretary of State. It was not however in the Council chamber alone that we were able to fulfil the duty with which his Excellency the Viceroy, on behalf of India, had entrusted us. It was quite as much, and possibly even more, in private conference with the British and Dominion statesmen, in the several public functions to which we were invited in London, and in constant conversations with men of prominence in public life, that we were able to familiarise our fellow-citizens in the Empire with the needs and hopes of India. From what His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner has recently said in public, a portion of which has just been quoted by the Hon'ble Raja Sahib, I think you will have gathered that our work in this direction was marked by concord and entire mutual confidence; and I should hesitate to affront the modesty of my two colleagues by enlarging upon the wisdom, enthusiasm, and convincing eloquence with which they represented the interests of India whenever occasion demanded or opportunity invited.

" Let me however return to the two great Councils and explain to you briefly what was India's share in their work and what they offered to India in return. The essential point to remember is that the Cabinet had assembled for one purpose, and one purpose only. All other considerations were postponed to the

supreme object of consultation on the means of victory and the terms of a victorious peace. No differences between the component parts of the Empire, no questions of internal policy could possibly find a place in deliberations in which the only aim was the more effective prosecution of the Empire's fight for liberty and truth. Here it was the simple duty of India's spokesmen, and their pride, to pledge India to give its best and do its utmost in unconditional loyalty to the furtherance of our common cause. In the Conference the tradition of similar previous assemblies might have suggested the consideration of more domestic issues ; but at an early stage with the approval of every member it was determined that the whole energies of this body should also be devoted to the same purpose—the purpose of victory—and that questions between England and the Dominions, or between the various portions of the Empire, should rest until the establishment of peace. In only one direction was a slight variation from this attitude subsequently permitted. It was felt that the closer union of our Empire was not only a powerful agency towards the defeat of our enemies, but also an essential guarantee against future aggression upon the peace of the world. Certain considerations which would make for such closer union were therefore briefly examined. There was no attempt to take final decisions upon them ; the desire of the Conference was rather the establishment of an attitude of mutual sympathy and understanding, which would enable the different Governments concerned to negotiate their differences afterwards in the confidence of an amicable settlement.

"It was from this point of view that we approached such questions as the position of Indian emigrants in the Dominions, the economic relations between India and the rest of the Empire, and the right of India to a voice in the foreign policy of the Empire and its foreign relations. You have seen in the Press an epitome of the resolutions which the Conference passed on those

subjects, and I need not dwell upon the value of the results to us. You can judge of them for yourself; what I should like to impress is the almost greater value of the understanding which grew up, through their representatives, between India and the self-governing Dominions. The Dominions' statesmen appreciated our difficulties, the difficulties both of India's government and of her people; and the Indian representatives in turn were able to gain, as they could not possibly have gained otherwise, some insight into the difficulties which these young democracies overseas have to face in their relations with countries of different traditions and different social composition. In the course of this mutual understanding, there grew up a sympathy and a friendliness which were certainly the most gratifying products of our mission. Questions affecting India were approached by the Dominions' statesmen in the most generous spirit and a sincere desire for better comprehension. Combined with the cordiality of our personal relations, this attitude has laid, as I believe, the foundations of a wider tolerance which will not only gratify the self-esteem of India but will be of material service to us hereafter.

"If, gentlemen, you ask for tangible evidence of that spirit of goodwill and better understanding which I have tried to describe, I cannot point to anything more convincing or more striking than two decisions of which you are already aware. The Imperial Conference, without any suggestion from the Indian representatives, formally agreed, on the motion of the Prime Ministers of two of the great Dominions, to modify its own constitution, so as 'to permit of India being fully represented at all future Imperial Conferences.' An even higher compliment came later. During the meetings of the Imperial War Cabinet, the representatives of India had been for the time being members of the Government of the Empire. 'There was,' if I may quote from a speech of Lord Curzon, 'no knowledge, authority or responsibility enjoyed by the War Cabinet that was not shared by them.' But

the British Ministry were quick to show that this distinction was not the result of any temporary need of India's help in a great crisis; for at our last meeting the Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, announced the intention of establishing a permanent Imperial Cabinet, which will comprise representatives of the Dominions and of India. It will meet annually, or more often if urgency requires, to obtain full information about Imperial affairs and to confer on foreign and Imperial policy.

" You will agree with me, I trust, as to the profound importance of these two invitations, which six months ago none of us could have conceived as possible. India has been asked to join, as an equal and honoured partner, the consultations of that great group of nations which form the British Empire and which are closing together into the greatest power for peace and liberty in the world's history. India has also been asked to join the supreme executive authority of that union, to sit in the Cabinet of Empire, to share in its most secret deliberations and in its most momentous decisions. The whole position of India in the Empire has been changed. For a gift which appeals to all that is best in Indian sentiment, our gratitude is due to the generous impulse of the Prime Minister of England, to the new and cordial friendliness of the Dominions' statesmen, but chiefly to the loyal advocacy of Mr. Austen Chamberlain. They saw into the heart of India, through much that is puzzling on the surface, and determined to honour what they found there. The decision was ratified by his Majesty the King-Emperor when, in his reply to our address of farewell at Windsor, he was graciously pleased to thank the Government, Princes, and peoples of India for their assistance, and to say— ' It has afforded me the utmost satisfaction that the representatives of India have been members of your Conference with equal rights to take part in its deliberations. This meeting round a common board and the consequent personal intercourse will result in the increasing growth of a spirit of larger sympathy

and of mutual understanding between India and the overseas Dominions.' We may all dutifully pray for the complete fulfilment of His Majesty's prophecy.

" And now, gentlemen, let me come nearer home. Is it possible for India to assume this new status in our Empire without any forward movement in its own constitution ? To that question there can be only one answer. I believe that India cannot effectively take up her partnership in Empire unless her people are given an ever-increasing share in the management of their own domestic policy. That seems to me to be as clear as the sunlight, and I cannot think that it has been sufficiently present to the minds of those who ask why a more categorical announcement of the British policy for India is not immediately forthcoming. The idea of freedom permeates men's minds to-day with that keen insistence which it has assumed at several great crises in history. Our war is a war for freedom. It was the generous instinct of freedom which inspired the offers of equality and reciprocity extended by British and Colonial statesmen. It surely follows that those who are responsible for the government of this country admit the right of India to look forward to free institutions under the British Crown. The pace of development, and the steps by which it will proceed, are matters on which opinions inevitably and legitimately differ. And the methods by which the claim is pressed may seem at times to some of us to be lacking in political foresight, in a sense of proportion, or sometimes, even in that obedience which law and order imperatively demand from each one of us. That, however, is not the aspect of the case which I wish to put before you to-day, and I am sure you deprecate, as I deprecate, as strongly as any responsible person can deprecate, those forms of political excitement which are meant to embarrass public business or to foment racial bitterness, and I trust the people of this province to discourage them, not only by the letter of the law, but in a

spirit of friendliness towards good and peaceful government. But, as I have said, I am not dealing with that side of the question just now. What I want to impress to-day is the certainty that those who direct the affairs of India are not hostile, but favourable, to her advance towards greater freedom in her national life.

" So clear is that conviction in my mind that, during the six weeks since my return from England, I have been genuinely perplexed and distressed by the expressions of doubt which I have heard—a doubt which seems to be rapidly producing a lamentable tension of feeling—among those who think of India's future. In the recent political meetings and in the conversation of Indian friends, who pay me the compliment of speaking freely to my officers and myself, there is a note of suspicion and mistrust such as I never heard before during my service in this country. The cross currents of thought and speculation which compose this feeling are too complex for me to analyse, even if many of them were not invisible and intangible. But running through them all there seems to be a fear that the Government of this country is in some way preparing a policy of reaction. Certain measures that have been taken in other parts of India under the emergent powers for the defence of the realm, certain warnings which have been given against intemperance of language and method, combined with a supposed reluctance to make any pronouncement about constitutional reform, are read as being gloomy portents. It is plainly said that there is an intention to negative the ideal of self-government and to suppress the demand for it. Now, I do not propose to speak as to the merits of what has been done or said in other provinces. Each Administration has its own problems. If it finds that a particular form of mischief is at work, upsetting the minds of the young, confusing men's judgment at a time when cool judgment is more than ever needed, in short, creating a danger to the public weal, then it naturally takes the promptest and most direct action to avert that danger. You and

I, in any position of responsibility, would do the same ; and there I leave the matter. But I do protest against the assumption that behind these internments and these remonstrances there stands a determination to oppose India's natural hopes and aspirations. There is no occasion for any such assumption. Our past history, if it shows anything, plainly shows the great purposes of British rule in a foreign land ; the war has only strengthened those purposes and cleared the vision which inspires them. The British Government is one and undivided in its aims and its goal; and I personally regard it as certain that that goal lies in the direction in which the gaze of India's people is turned.

" Is it necessary for me to describe why I regard this as certain ? The present Viceroy of India has declared his conviction in the clearest possible manner : ' I am here in India,' said Lord Chelmsford, ' to do what lies in my power to forward the peace, prosperity, and happiness of this country : and to me at any rate it is clear that steady progress along the path of political development is one of the roads along which the happiness of India lies . . . I hope some day to see India hold a position of equality amongst the sister nations of which the British Empire is composed.' My colleagues at the War Cabinet and I can testify how prominent the whole matter was in the minds of British statesmen when we were in England. On this point, so far as seemed possible without infringing the confidence of private conversations, I had thought of saying more, but I find my own personal evidence is no longer called for in view of the declaration by Mr. Chamberlain in the House of Commons on Friday last that the Imperial Government is giving careful attention to Indian suggestions regarding political reforms in India and that a statement on the subject would soon be possible. In view of this assurance all that I need say is that those in high office in England are in full possession of every side of the story ; of the official schemes, of

the desires of the political classes, of the extent and depth of the feeling which lies behind them, and of every possible argument for the forms of constitutional advances which have been suggested. This I can say from my own personal observation and knowledge.

" But why, it may be asked, is there no decision on all this ? Why is our patience tried by the long silence, the absence of any declaration as to the goal of British policy in India ? Now, there is such a thing as impatience and there is such a thing as anxiety. I confess that I share the anxiety of many who watch the present state of affairs with concern. I am anxious about it, because excitement and restlessness in the mind of India are doing the country no good at the present juncture and may, unless they are kept well within the bounds of reason, detrimentally affect her good name. We ought all to be pulling together to-day, if we believe that the world for which our King-Emperor and his Allies are fighting will be a better world for all of us than a world which would be dominated by German culture and Prussian sabres. But we are not pulling together, and we are not doing nearly all that we could do, or that I believe every loyal Indian gentleman would wish us to be doing, for the prosecution of the war ; and it is for these reasons that I am anxious. But since I have seen the position in England I am not impatient. The Government in England, as I have said, are aware of India's hopes and desires. But they think well enough of India to believe that she would not wish to divert them from the task on which they are now engaged, and which it is of supreme importance to the world that they should be finished with the least possible delay. England went into this war as a comparatively minor factor among the gigantic armies engaged in it. She is now the dominant power ; and it is not too much to say that the responsibility for the future of the world rests upon her shoulders. The English people have not at present a single thought in their

minds except to mobilise every ounce of their strength for victory. The burden upon England is becoming heavier every day ; all political differences and problems are being put aside ; and the small group of political leaders in whose hands the destinies of the Empire repose are over-worked as probably no group of statesmen ever were before. Is it fair or reasonable to expect that they should turn from this task to any work of less immediate urgency ? And yet it is the case that even in the middle of the greatest war in history, the Government in England is working towards a wise decision about India. They are applying their minds to the concrete problem of the first step or steps to be taken in the near future in the development of free institutions for us. I cannot in any way forecast what their decision may be ; but I should like you to realise that though the days of waiting for that decision may seem long in India they are short and over-crowded for those on whom rests the gravest responsibility of all time in the history of our Empire.

" There are other arguments for the exercise of patience by the Indian patriot. There is a very real risk that his case may be prejudiced by hustle and agitation. There is no great political movement without its critics, both now and in the future interpretation of our history ; and none of us can wisely ignore criticism. It is surely not difficult to foresee one line of criticism which will enquire why India's insistence for new political rights became most clamant at the time when England was most preoccupied. I am not stating any line of criticism which I endorse ; but this is an aspect of the case which might be developed to considerable lengths, and it is not pleasant to contemplate. I am also afraid that impatience is interfering with useful work for the public good. It frequently assumes forms which cast an additional burden upon Government and its officers at a time when they could be more usefully employed.

" This brings me to the last phase of the matter. I have tried to assure you that the request of India for free institutions is not being ignored, is not being suppressed, is not being pushed off into the indefinite future. I have suggested that however anxious we may be for a decision, we can best serve the cause by avoiding impatience and distrust. And now, you will say, what alternative have I to propose ? What is to be done in substitution for agitation and the formulation of demands and protests against anticipation of a repressive policy ? Most of you, gentlemen, have already answered this for yourselves, but I put this question now as a prelude to an appeal to you to assist me in procuring the general co-operation with Government of all who have been affected by this recent wave of impatience and distrust. Let them come in with us and help to win the war. Victory is as much the business of India as it is of any country which loves and looks for freedom. There are only two sides in this world-war. A man must be either for the cause or against it : and if he is for it, a moment's reflection will show him that any weakening of our force, any rift in our union, is the game of the King's enemies. The part which you or I can take as individuals may be small ; but as an example and a stimulus to others it is invaluable. What we can do, you know already. There is the need for more money in a loan which is the safest and most patriotic investment in all time. There are constant opportunities for caring for the wounded in our hospitals here and at the front ; and for sending comforts to our fighting men. The widows and children of those who have fallen can be sought out and helped. Finally—and this is the only matter on which I would enlarge to-day—there is the work of recruiting. We want your special help with it.

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" What is now required of this province is that it should provide a very much larger number of young men for the combatant ranks within the next year ; and just as in the United Kingdom

the army has been increased five-fold, so we hope that about five times the number of those who have come forward hitherto will be available ; while about 25,000 men are asked for for the humbler but better paid posts of followers of various classes and for the different Labour Corps. It is the help of you, my colleagues in Council, that I ask for in the task and, through you, for the help of every loyal citizen of this province. As you will have seen, a War Board has just been constituted under the presidency of Mr. J. S. Campbell, and I would specially invite your co-option and assistance with the Board in this work which it has undertaken. I ask you this for the honour of the province which in the past produced some of the finest fighting men in the Indian Empire, and I ask it in the name of those who are fighting a hard battle in a sacred cause.

“ Just before coming into Council I received a striking paper from the officer who is supervising the work of recruitment in the Aligarh district. It was the petition of a poor Jat widow which he sent to me. In that petition the humble widow says that her husband died  $17\frac{1}{2}$  years ago, leaving one son six months old. When the boy reached the age of 16 she took him to the recruiting officer, but the boy was rejected as being too young. Now, he had waited two years longer and he now had come when she could offer him to the British Government to fight for the just cause. ‘ At his departure,’ says the petition, “ my instructions to my son are that he will be a source of pleasure and satisfaction to me only when he does his best to defeat the cause of the enemy by the sacrifice of his life in the service of the Government. Go, my son, serve the King and pray for his long life and prosperity, and do your duty.’ That boy has been enrolled in the 35th Sikhs; and if ever a boy carried the spirit of sacrifice and patriotism with him and the blessings of the gods it is the son of a poor Jat widow. May her example stimulate us in the great work that is before us ! ”

**APPENDIX IX.****Dadabhai Naoroji.**

Dadabhai Naoroji was a Parsi, born in Bombay in 1825. He came of a family of priests. He was a promising scholar of the Elphinstone College in that city. On reaching manhood, he at first devoted himself to educational work, and it is said that it was to his initiative that Bombay owed her first school for girls. In 1855 he proceeded to England as representative of Messrs. Cama and Co. and began to occupy himself largely in journalism and in bringing before the public advanced Indian views regarding political and economic questions. Subsequently he returned to India and was appointed Diwan of the Baroda State. Resigning this post later, he served as a member of the Bombay Corporation, from 1881 to 1885, and rendered excellent service to that body. He was appointed an additional member of the Imperial Legislative Council and was one of the promoters of, and partakers in, the First Indian National Congress.

In 1886 he left for England, determined to enter Parliament, and stood for Holborn. He was unsuccessful and, returning to India, became president of the second Congress.\* In 1887 he returned to England and after some years was elected member of Parliament for Central Finsbury. His election was hailed with much enthusiasm in India.

He retained his seat for three years and, in 1893, induced Mr. Herbert Paul to move a resolution proposing that examinations for the Indian Civil Service should be held simultaneously in India and England. He also, with the assistance of Sir William Wedderburn and the late Mr. W. S. Caine, organized the Indian Parliamentary Committee. In 1895 he was appointed to the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure and did laborious

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\* See page 82.

service on that body. In 1893 he presided over the Ninth Congress sessions and received great ovations. In 1895 he lost his seat in Parliament and afterwards devoted himself mainly to Congress propaganda. He was elected president of the memorable Congress of 1906,\* but was unable to be present. His address was read out in that assemblage. He died at the ripe age of ninety-two, universally respected.

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\* See page 58.

## APPENDIX X.

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Extracts from a Speech by His Excellency the Viceroy on  
September the 7th, 1917.

"First, let me welcome you to another session. You will already have heard from the Secretary in the Legislative Department that I am attempting this year to make the Simla sessions more interesting, to admit resolutions and to get forward with legislation . . . . \*

\* \* \* \* "I must remind you in this connection that the Secretary of State has now three Indian members on his Council. The presence of these members in London will, I think, secure the full representation of the current political views in India when momentous questions of policy have to be decided.

"I now come to larger questions. It is just a year ago since this Council came together as a new Council and I presided over you as Viceroy for the first time. It was then early days for me to put before you my hopes and fears, my aims and aspirations. Moreover, I laid down for myself as a principle of conduct that I would make no promises of which I could not see the prospect of early fulfilment. It is one of the accusations which is sometimes brought against the Government that lavish promises are made, that days and weeks and months and years pass, and that the promises are not honoured. I shall not argue the point whether this can, or cannot, be described as a 'true bill,' but for myself I shall ask you to judge my administration on the work accomplished and not on promises made.

**Government's Policy.**

"And now let me put before Hon'ble Members in as clear, succinct, and unvarnished a manner as possible what has been done during the sixteen months of my administration and what we hope to do. Dismiss from your minds any pre-conceived ideas as

to motives. It is an old legal maxim that the law does not enquire into motives but judges of a man's intentions by his acts. This is the principle on which I would ask you to arrive at your conclusions. You, gentlemen, are here to co-operate with Government in its policy and administration. It is before you, then, in the first place, that I lay an account of what my Government has done and is hoping to do.

"I think I may outline our policy generally as follows:—We put before ourselves three main tasks: first, to secure that the services of the Indian Army should not go unrecognised or unrequited and that rewards to them should hold the foremost place; secondly, that we should endeavour to remove any grievances, either sentimental or material, which we found to exist; thirdly, that we should define the goal of British rule in India and map out the roads leading to that goal.

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"Hon'ble Members will recollect that Captain Ajab Khan, at our last sessions, put forward several suggestions for the Commander-in-Chief's consideration in regard to various minor details affecting the contentment and well-being of the Indian soldier. I am informed that many of these suggestions have been adopted, while others are receiving sympathetic attention. As a memorial to the services of the Indian Army in the present war, we contemplate the institution of a school for the education of the sons of Indian officers. There is no body of men which has rendered more faithful and loyal service and we hope that this school may not only enable the next generations to prove themselves worthy sons of their gallant fathers but to start their careers with educational advantages which will enable those who show special ability and character to rise high in the service of their King-Emperor.

#### **Commissions for Indians.**

"Last, but not least, I may mention that we have forwarded to the Secretary of State a despatch embodying our proposals for

opening to Indians British commissions in His Majesty's Army, and we have been informed by him that His Majesty's Government accept our proposals—of which they had received the main outlines by telegram—in principle. As a mark of his approbation of their services during the war, His Majesty the King-Emperor has been pleased to appoint nine Indian officers to British commissions with effect from the 25th August. I would remind Hon'ble Members that the question of commissions is one that dates back to what I may describe as prehistoric times and has been the subject of discussion by Government after Government, and Lord Curzon hoped that by the institution of the Imperial Cadet Corps he had taken the first step towards solving the difficulty. Years slipped by, however and nothing was done until we took up the matter again. I do not disguise from you that the problem bristles with difficulties. Nevertheless we have grappled with them with a sincere desire to arrive at some practical solution, and the appointment of the nine officers referred to may be regarded as an earnest of the favourable attitude of His Majesty's Government towards our proposals. We now trust that our efforts to dispose of the problem, of which the solution is long overdue, will be met by good-will on all sides. We ask for loyal co-operation on the part of those who see danger and difficulty in our policy as also on the part of those who may be impatient of mere beginnings.

#### **Indian Representation:**

" Let me now turn from the Army to the second task which we set ourselves. There have been outstanding for many years, matters which have been regarded as grievances by Indians. We felt, as a Government, that it was our duty to endeavour to remedy those grievances and that no policy of reform would be complete which did not include an honest endeavour to do away with them. I will proceed to narrate what progress has been made in this direction. The position of India within the

Empire has obviously the first claim on our attention. You will perhaps remember what Lord Hardinge said in his speech of the 22nd September, 1915, to this Council. From this statement of the actual constitution of the Imperial Conference you will see that the ultimate decision upon the representation of India at the next meeting of the Conference rests with the Conference itself. It is, of course, premature to consider the manner in which the representation of India, if admitted, should be effected, but *prima facie* it would appear reasonable that India should be represented by the Secretary of State and one or two representatives nominated by the Secretary of State in consultation with the Viceroy, such nominees being ordinarily selected from officials resident or serving in India. The next step was taken when His Majesty's Government decided, at the beginning of this year, to convene a special War Conference in London and the Secretary of State, in consultation with the Government of India, nominated His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, His Honour Sir James Meston, and Sir Satyendra Sinha as his colleagues in the representation of India—a notable advance on the representation which Lord Hardinge foreshadowed. In alluding to this subject I said at our last session: 'I am sorry to think that the enormous importance of the decision taken by His Majesty's Government stands in danger of being minimised and discounted by hasty and not very well-informed criticism. As the French proverb has it, it is the first step which counts, and India has been admitted to-day, for the first time, to a place of honour at the Council table of the Empire. It marks a point in the history of India which, though it may not be seen in its true perspective to-day, will, I have no hesitation in saying, be the beginning of a new chapter in India's history under the Imperial flag.' I think I can claim to-day that events have proved me to be right. An Imperial Cabinet, it is now announced, is to meet once a year. India is to be represented in this Cabinet and one representative from India is to attend

the Cabinet in the same way that one representative attends from each self-governing Dominion. The status of India in the Empire is thus fully recognised and an advance has been made, such, indeed, as might have been hoped for but was scarcely to be expected a year ago.

#### **India and the Colonies.**

" Again, as regards the position of India in the Empire, the Dominion representatives have accepted the principle of reciprocity of treatment and have commended to the favourable consideration of their Governments, first, that the facilities for settlement accorded to Indians should not be less advantageous than those allowed to subjects of other Oriental nations; secondly, that facilities should be accorded to educated Indians visiting the Colonies for travel and study apart from settlement; thirdly, that Indians who have already been permitted to settle should receive sympathetic treatment. We in this country may regret that these principles do not go further but I think Hon'ble Members will admit the great advance that has been made in this most important question. And let me bring to your notice in this connection a notable utterance in the Canadian Parliament on the 18th May last. Sir Robert Borden said: 'I found it of very great advantage in discussing matters of common concern to India and ourselves that we had the representatives of India at the Conference. I invited the members of the Conference to meet informally at the hotel at which I was staying and had a free, full, and frank discussion of the whole situation in so far as the Dominions are concerned. India has matters of difference, matters some times of controversy, with South Africa, perhaps, also with Australia and New Zealand, and on some occasions with Canada. Sir Satyendra Sinha stated the case from the Indian standpoint with great ability and fairness, conspicuous moderation, and very deep feeling. His address to us was not the less impressive because it was so fair and so moderate. On our part we spoke with equal freedom

equal frankness and, I hope, with equal moderation. The net result was the resolution at which we arrived and which I have read. Its basis is that the self-respect of India shall be maintained by an agreement that, whatever measures we enforce in regard to the emigration or the visits of Indians to Canada shall also prevail with regard to the emigration or visits of Canadians to India, I do not think that anyone in this House can dispute the fairness of that proposal. Upon certain other matters which we discussed I need not dwell to-day. I see nothing but good in the presence of India at that Conference and I believe that there will be no objection in this House or in this country to having that great dependency of the Empire represented at future meetings. India has been splendidly loyal in this war and has contributed of her manhood and of her treasure for the purpose of enabling us to win it. We must take that all into account. Her civilisation is different from ours: it is more ancient. In some respects it may be said to be on a higher plane. There is more of idealism in their civilisation; more, perhaps, of materialism in ours. I am not disposed to discuss the question as to whether one or the other civilisation is superior but I do say that the Indian civilisation is entitled to our respect and that we must do our part in making the inhabitants of that great dependency of the Empire feel that they are not treated with contumely or injustice by the people of any of the Dominions. I believe that purpose will be carried out; I believe it will be materially assisted by the Conference which we had with the Indian representatives.'

"I think we may congratulate ourselves on Sir Robert Borden's sympathetic speech and see in it a happy augury for the future.

#### **Indentured Emigration.**

"Again, in the abolition of indentured emigration we may claim to have satisfactorily dealt with another grievance. I think Hon'ble Members in the past scarcely realised the difficulties with which the Government of India had to contend in relation to this matter. Pledges had been given with regard to the maintenance

of the system until a substitute had been found which, though understood in India to mean abolition within a very short period, were understood in a very different sense in the Colonies. I had to be jealous of India's good faith in this matter, but I am glad so say that the action which we took in prohibiting emigration under the Defence of India Act, thus leading to abolition, is now fully accepted and understood by the Colonies and the Colonial Office, and for this removal of any misunderstanding we have to thank our delegates to the Imperial Conference, Sir James Meston and Sir Satyendra Sinha, who by their explanation of India's attitude, at a meeting held at the Colonial Office, were able to remove any suspicion of bad faith which may have attached to our action.

"I need not dwell at length on the well-worn theme of the cotton duties. This matter is a source of grievance upon which British and Indians have alike expiated for the past twenty odd years. That grievance has now in large measure been removed and while, of course, we know that the action taken is to be subject to reconsideration when the fiscal arrangements of the different parts of the Empire come to be reviewed at the end of the war, I venture to prophesy, as I did in the case of indentured emigration, that such things when once abolished cannot be revived, and I need hardly say that the Government of India would offer the most strenuous opposition were such a course proposed. I think you may take it that in any fiscal changes which may be introduced after the war the interests of India will be fully considered.

"There still remain two subjects of grievance, viz., Indian volunteering and the administration of the Arms Act. In my speech on the Indian Defence Force Bill I said that volunteering as we have known it under the Volunteers Act of 1869 is dead. It is useless to spend money on a military force which is bound to be ineffective under the conditions and nature of its existence, but

under the Indian Defence Force Act we offered an opportunity for Indians to enlist and men have been enrolled and University companies have been established at Calcutta, Bombay, and Allahabad. These corps, though not nearly as strong in numbers as we could have wished will afford us some useful guidance as to the future. I can only regret that the experiment has not been more successful and here, though the subject is not strictly germane to the matter in hand, I should like to congratulate Bengal on the battalion of regular soldiers which it has raised and Dr. Mullick in particular and those who have been instrumental in raising it. I hear the very highest praise given to the keenness and zeal of the men and I look forward to their proving their prowess against the foe.

"The question of the administration of the Arms Act is one which requires considerable and detailed examination. We have had it under examination now for some time and we are still awaiting the views of Local Governments on our proposals. But this much I can say that we, as the Government of India, will not accept any solution of this question which continues to base exemption on racial distinctions.

#### **Constitutional Reforms.**

"I now turn to the third task, viz., constitutional reforms. At the very first Executive Council which I held as Viceroy and Governor General I propounded two questions to my Council: (1) What is the goal of British rule in India? (2) what are the steps on the road to this goal? We came to the conclusion, which, I trust, most hon'ble members will agree was inevitable, that the endowment of British India, as an integral part of the British Empire, with self-government was the goal of British rule and His Majesty's Government have now put forward in precise terms their policy, which I may say that we, as the Government of India, regard in substance as practically indistinguishable from that which we put forward. With regard to the second question,

after a careful and detailed examination of the ground, we arrived at the decision that there were three roads along which an advance should be made towards the goal. The first road was in the domain of local self-government, the village, the rural board, the town or municipal council. The domain of urban and rural self-government is the great training-ground from which political progress and a sense of responsibility have taken their start and we felt that the time had come to quicken the advance, to accelerate the rate of progress, and thus to stimulate the sense of responsibility in the average citizen and to enlarge his experience. The second road, in our opinion, lay in the domain of the more responsible employment of Indians under Government. We felt that it was essential to progress towards the goal that Indians should be admitted in steadily-increasing proportion to the higher grades of the various services and departments and to more responsible posts in the Administration generally. It is, I think, obvious that this is a most important line of advance. If we are to get real progress it is vital that India should have an increasing number of men versed not only in the details of every-day administration but in the whole art of government.

"I doubt whether there is likely to be anyone who will cavil at the general conclusions at which we arrived as to these two roads of advance. But agreement must not blind us to their instruction. The first and foremost principle which was enunciated in Lord Ripon's self-government resolution of May, 1882, and was subsequently emphasised by Lord Morley and Lord Crewe in their dispatches of the 27th November, 1908, and the 15th July, 1913, respectively, was that the object of local self-government is to train the people in the management of their own local affairs and that political education of this sort must take precedence of mere considerations of departmental efficiency. We are in complete accordance, hence our advocacy of an advance along the first road. Equally we realise the paramount importance of

training in administration which would be derived from an advance along the second road. There is nothing like administrative experience to sober the judgment and bring about an appreciation of the practical difficulties which exist in the realm of administration, and it is from this source that we may look forward in the future to an element of experience and tried material for the legislative assemblies.

" We come now to our third road, which lies in the domain of the Legislative Councils. As Hon'ble Members will readily appreciate, there is no subject on which so much difference of opinion exists and with regard to which greater need is required for careful investigation and sober decision. I may say frankly that we, as the Government of India, recognise fully that an advance must be made on this road simultaneously with the advances on the other two and His Majesty's Government in connection with the goal which they have outlined in their announcement have decided that substantial steps in the direction of the goal they define should be taken as soon as possible.

#### **Mr. Montagu's Visit.**

" Some criticism has been directed against the Government of India on the score that we have not disclosed the policy outlined in our despatch. I must remind Hon'ble Members that the decision on such a question rests not with the Government of India but with the authorities at Home. Moreover, on the larger question of a declaration of policy in view of its unique importance, I have steadfastly refused to anticipate by any statement of my own the decision of His Majesty's Government, who alone could make a final and authoritative statement, and I was careful to warn Hon'ble Members in my opening speech to them last February of the likelihood of delay owing to the grave pre-occupations of the Cabinet at Home. Well, this, however, is, I hope, now immaterial, for His Majesty's Government have

announced their policy and have authorised the Secretary of State, with His Majesty's approval, to accept my invitation to visit India and to examine the issues on the spot. I had invited Mr. Chamberlain to visit India some time back. He was on the point of accepting when his resignation took place. Immediately on Mr. Montagu's assumption of office I expressed the hope that he would see his way to accept the invitation which I had extended to his predecessor and I am delighted that the Cabinet have decided that he should accept.

"Some apprehension has been expressed lest the Government of India is about to be superseded temporarily by the Secretary of State. There need be no anxiety on that score. As I have told you, Mr. Montagu is coming on my invitation to consult informally with myself, the Government of India, and others. He will make no public pronouncements of policy, and business between the Government of India and the Home Government will be conducted through the regular channels and the Council of India. There is no question of supersession, but the outstanding advantage of Mr. Montagu's visit is that he will now have the opportunity of making at first-hand an examination of the questions in issue and, for my part, I shall leave nothing undone to enable him to receive all the suggestions of representative bodies and others which he may desire.

"In these circumstances and in view of Mr. Montagu's assurance that there will be ample opportunity for public discussion of the proposals which will be submitted in due course to Parliament, I would suggest to Hon'ble Members that the intervening time before his arrival might be spent in a quiet examination of the arguments to be placed before Mr. Montagu. For myself I am anxious that when Mr. Montagu arrives we—and in that pronoun I include all those representative bodies and others mentioned in the announcement—should have ready to place before him all the material which will enable him to form a reasoned judgment. I

hope Hon'ble Members will not regard my advice as suspect, but I would press it on their attention. Is it too much to ask that when Mr. Montagu arrives in India he should find a calm atmosphere, suggested policies carefully thought out and supported by sober arguments and concrete facts, and a spirit of sobriety predominating every one worthy of the issues to be examined ?

**Mrs. Besant's Internment.**

"I had intended to deal in my speech with Mrs. Besant's internment but the answer to the question on the subjects which you have just heard makes this unnecessary. I would only add that Lord Pentland's Government took action against her with the greatest reluctance and after Lord Pentland had personally attempted to dissuade Mrs. Besant from the course which she was pursuing. There the subject must rest for the present and I revert to a survey of the practical activities of the Government.

"I have described in former speeches our policy with regard to industrial development. In dealing later with the activities of the Munitions Board I shall show what great hopes we entertain in this direction, and when, on the termination of the war, we have in our hands the report of the Industrial Commission which we shall be able to compare with the experience we have derived from the working of the Munitions Board, I am confident we shall be in a position to make a great move forward. I had hoped to find an opportunity to deal at some length to-day with our plans in regard to agricultural education but, important as the subject is, it must give place to more important matters. For the present I will confine myself to mentioning the fact that a Conference was held in Simla last June under the presidency of the Hon'ble Sir Claude Hill; that conclusions were reached as to the means by which a real and permanent improvement in agricultural methods could be effected through the medium of education at schools and colleges; and that the recommendations of the Conference will be shortly referred to Local Governments.

" My summary of our activities would be incomplete if I did not allude to the subject of education. We are all agreed that a definite advance must be made in the sphere of education, especially of primary education. There is no direction in which an advance is more urgently needed and it is specially essential in relation to real political progress. But for that very reason, as I think Hon'ble Members will readily see, it is not possible to indicate the actual line of advance. But I can assure you that we are fully alive to the urgency of the problem, and it is only the fact that there are other problems ultimately connected with the awaiting solution which prevents me from indicating our policy in the most important questions.

#### **The Munitions Board.**

" So far Hon'ble Members in listening to my speech might imagine that there was no such thing as a war in existence and that my Government's time had been solely occupied with internal problems and had devoted no time or thought to the problem of what India could do to help in the great struggle. I will now explain what we have done and what we are trying to do. In my opening speech to you at Delhi I said our motto must be : ' Effort and yet greater effort.' During the past six months that motto has been ever before us and I can confidently say that we have done our best to act up to it. There are three directions in which we can help—material, men, and money. As regards material, we set up, some six months ago, a Munitions Board under Sir Thomas Holland, who reported progress to me every week. I am able, therefore, to give you of my own knowledge some account of the activities of the Board and if it proves somewhat long you must excuse it on the ground of the real importance of people generally knowing the scope of our activities. Although certain scientific and technical services had been organised before the war and individual experts had been employed by Local Governments for the purpose of facilitating the development of our natural resources as well as industrial

enterprises, the Government of India have for some time been conscious of the fact that the efforts were more sporadic than systematic. They were, nevertheless, not without value as experiments necessary to establish the data required to formulate a more comprehensive policy. The marked success which has followed the organisation of research and demonstration work in scientific agriculture, and the assistance which has been given to the mineral industries by the Geological Survey, are striking examples that encourage a bolder policy on similar lines for the benefit of other, and especially manufacturing, industries.

" With the object of gathering together the result of recent attempts to assist industrial development and for the purpose of formulating schemes for a more systematic policy, my predecessor appointed a Commission which has commenced its survey and expects to complete its investigations during this next cold weather. Meanwhile special conditions arising directly from the war—the shortage of ocean transport facilities, the cutting-off of supplies of many manufactured articles, and the necessity of economising man-power in the United Kingdom—have induced my Government to anticipate the findings of the Industrial Commission by organising at once, so far as is possible in present circumstances, the resources of the country with a view of making India more self-contained and less dependent on the outer world for supplies of manufactured goods. The Munitions Board was founded five months ago with this main object in view and its organisation has grown so rapidly along the lines originally planned, that its activities now exceed in bulk those of most Government departments.

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" Such in brief summary is the work of the Munitions Board—vital as regards our present necessities and pregnant with promise for the future. But I should be ungrateful if I were to pass on without recording my grateful recognition of the services of Sir

Thomas Holland. The unusual width of his scientific knowledge, his business capacity, and industry have converted what might otherwise have been a futile experiment into a practical working success. I sincerely trust that his services may long be spared to India and that after this war is over he may be willing to inaugurate what I believe has always been the dream of his heart—the industrial regeneration of India.

#### **Activity in Mesopotamia.**

"I have outlined the activities of the Munitions Board. I will pass on to some details of our material output in other directions. The shortage of river craft which happened in Mesopotamia in the earlier phases of the war has been overcome and a numerous and well-equipped fleet now plies on the Tigris between Basra and Baghdad. The War Office has done much in the way of providing its personnel and equipment, but of the actual vessels now in commission no less than 57 per cent. have been supplied by India. Besides requisitioning existing river-craft we have been able to build or construct a number of steamers, launches, and barges in India and with improved arrangements for the towing of these vessels, the proportion of losses in transit to Basra has now greatly diminished.

"It is an open secret that the last few months have witnessed great activity in the way of railway construction in Mesopotamia. The whole of the rails, sleepers, engines, rolling-stock, and personnel required for the construction and working of these lines have been provided by India. We have also provided technical, personnel, and railway material in large quantities for Egypt and East Africa besides meeting the heavy demands of overseas railways. We have drawn largely from India's limited resources in the matter of electrical plant and personnel in order to equip the power standards which have been established at various places in Mesopotamia and to provide the generating plant required for the electric light and fans of the general hospitals in the field.

"The Telegraph Department is another branch of our administration which has been called upon to meet the demand of the Army in Mesopotamia and East Africa. Some 900 miles of line with all the posts, stores, tools, instruments, officers, and personnel required for their construction, maintenance, and working have been provided by it since the beginning of the war and the workshops of the department have, in addition, carried out a great deal of miscellaneous work for the Army. Our Farms Department has provided the experts, personnel, cattle, and plant required for the military dairies which have been established in Mesopotamia as well as the personnel, implements, and seeds required for vegetable-cultivation on a considerable scale. These measures, which illustrate how varied and numerous are the requirements of a modern army in the field, should, when fully developed, have a beneficial effect on the health of the troops, which has already improved in a marked degree. General Maude reported only a few days ago that the general opinion of officers and men is that they have never seen troops so well fed. The great decrease of scurvy, which is now almost negligible, and the absence of other diseases due to mal-nutrition, afford eloquent testimony to the success achieved. I hesitate to be dogmatic in such a matter, but the evidence which comes to me from many sources justifies me, I think, in saying that our troops are now well cared for and liberally supplied, and the knowledge of this will, I feel sure, cause the liveliest satisfaction throughout India.

#### **India's Man-power.**

"Coming now to men, last October Sir Michael O'Dwyer furnished me at my request with a memorandum on military and civil co-operation. It was full of valuable suggestions and His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief at once on his arrival took the matter into consideration, and after the question had been carefully examined by the Army Headquarters, we determined to

establish a Man-power Board whose duty it would be to collect and co-ordinate all the facts with regard to the supply of man-power in India. In close touch with this body similar bodies have been set up in all the provinces with the object of keeping the central body informed as to local conditions. These measures, you will be glad to hear, proved highly successful; for whereas before the war the annual intake of recruits for the Indian Army could be reckoned in thousands, it has now to be reckoned in tens of thousands, and to judge from the number of men now offering themselves for enlistment there is every prospect of the present rate of recruitment being maintained. The extent to which our recruiting activities have increased will be appreciated when I tell you that previous to the war our average enlistment for the Army did not exceed 15,000 per annum. The briskness of recruiting has enabled us to maintain a steady flow of reinforcements to the various fronts and has facilitated the raising of a number of new units. With the increase of combatant units there has, of course, been a corresponding expansion of departmental services such as engineer, medical, transport, ordnance, and supply personnel, to say nothing of organised labour, which is now represented by some 20 Labour Corps in Mesopotamia and another 25 in France. Besides the above, upwards of 60,000 artisans, labourers, and specialists of various kinds have been enlisted for service in Mesopotamia and East Africa and some 20,000 menials and followers have been recruited and despatched overseas. To meet the demands created by wastage in the field, the raising of new units and the ever-increasing numbers of soldiers and followers under-training in dépôts we have had to provide for a corresponding increase in officers. This has been, and is still, one of our difficulties. The Indian Army Reserve of Officers, which consisted of 40 members at the beginning of the war, now numbers over 3,000, and I take this opportunity to express my high appreciation of their services.

"Besides the demand for more combatants, there has been a great demand for additional medical officers. This has been met partly by the withdrawal of some 350 officers from civil employment and, I am glad to say, by the utilisation of the services of Indian practitioners, of whom no less than 500 have accepted temporary commissions in the Indian Medical Service. These satisfactory results have been largely due to the energetic efforts of Surgeon-General Sir Pardey Lukis, assisted by the Inspectors-General of Civil Hospitals serving under Local Governments. The Civil Medical Department has also rendered valuable assistance to the Army in the manufacture and supply of stores, drugs, vaccines, sera, and quinine for oversea expeditions most of which but for the assistance so promptly and efficiently rendered would have been imported from Europe or America.

#### **Services of Princes and Chiefs.**

"But I must not pass from this subject without alluding to the continued loyal and effective services rendered by the Ruling Princes and Chiefs. Their Imperial Service Troops, to which must now be added the Imperial Service Camel Transport Corps from Bhawalpur and Khairpur, are serving besides our own in almost every theatre of our operations, while money and contributions in kind are constantly being offered for the acceptance of Government. The Nizam's munificent gift of £100,000 towards the anti-submarine campaign shows how truly His Highness has appreciated that important factor in the struggle and the conditions which have brought the peril by sea to the very gates of India. His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala has presented a flotilla of motor launches for Mesopotamia at a cost of over one lakh of rupees and His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala has given motor ambulance launches for the same destination. Aeroplanes have been purchased for Government by the Feudatory Chiefs of Bihar and Orissa, while contributions

towards the cost of the war have been made by the Maharajas of Indore and Bharatpur and the Maharana of Danta, the Raja of Dewas, and many other Princes.

" It was with very keen pleasure that I was able to announce that in recognition of the great place which the Indian Princes hold in the Empire, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner had been selected to be one of the representatives of India at the Imperial War Conference recently held in London. Those of us who know His Highness will agree that no better choice could have been made and what we have heard from England amply confirms our opinion. Since his return to India His Highness has again been called upon to assist Government in its deliberations and as members of the Central Recruiting Board both he and His Highness the Maharaja Scindia have been engaged with my officers in solving the difficult problem of obtaining adequate numbers of recruits for all branches of the Indian Army. His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, as representative of the Chiefs of the Punjab, whose people have hitherto led India in the matter of recruitment, has also helped the Board with his presence and advice.

" While sharing with us these Imperial interests the Princes and Chiefs have also their own State questions and problems and for the discussion of some of these I have invited Their Highnesses to another Conference at Delhi early in November next. I look forward to that opportunity of thanking them in person for the loyal, consistent, and generous support which they have ungrudgingly given to the Government of India in these times of stress and anxiety.

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#### The War Loan.

" I will now conclude with a brief survey of finance and of foreign politics. At the close of the Delhi session I emphasised the fact that it was the duty of all of us to secure the maximum

response to the Indian War Loan. I can now express my satisfaction at the result achieved, the total receipts (including the Post Office section of the loan and the cash certificates but excluding Treasury Bills received in England) amounting to over £32 millions. I hope that a substantial amount will still be added to this figure, as the Post Office section of the loan does not close till the 15th October, while the cash certificates will remain on sale throughout the year. Apart from sums subscribed in British India, very handsome subscriptions have been received from many Ruling Chiefs and States, the largest contributions from Princes or Darbars being : Gwalior Rs. 88 lakhs ; Hyderabad, Rs. 75 lakhs (besides Rs. 38 lakhs otherwise subscribed in this State); Mysore, Rs. 35 lakhs (in addition to Rs. 37 lakhs otherwise subscribed in the State and in the civil and military station of Bangalore) ; Bhawalpur, Rs. 40 lakhs ; Baroda, Rs. 31½ lakhs, and Patiala, Rs. 25 lakhs, while nearly Rs. 2 crores in the aggregate have been received from Chiefs and States other than those mentioned above. Not the least satisfactory feature of the loan has been the response to the Post Office section of it. The amount received through this channel already exceeds £6 millions (of which the Post Office cash certificates account for £4 millions), or a sum larger than has been raised in India by the Government in any one year before the war. I am grateful to the efforts of the various workers who have contributed to this result and I trust that, so far as the Post Office section is concerned, they will not relax their efforts.

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" Well, gentlemen, that concludes my review of the policy and the activities of my Government in some of the many aspects in which our energies have been employed. The recital has necessarily been long, but I feel assured that all the questions dealt with have interest for some of you, while certain of the subjects I have touched upon are of vital importance to every member of

this Council whether he sits as a Government official or whether he comes here as representing that great unofficial India now stirring into fuller political consciousness. Perhaps I need hardly tell you that my task in addressing you to-day has been easier and more congenial to me personally than on any previous occasion.

" My Government, through no fault of their own but by the force of circumstances, have till recently occupied a position of much difficulty. Criticisms and misunderstandings have beset us. Yet we were not in a position to speak. Now I am able to lift the veil and I feel that Hon'ble Members here, and those whom they represent outside, will realise from my narration that our administration has not been sterile nor our policy illiberal. To-day I can point to something accomplished, something done. The announcement now promulgated is a landmark in the constitutional history of India. It is not an edict which fixes and crystallises the Indian polity in a mould of cramped design ; it is an announcement resonant with hope ; it invites you forward at once along a stage of political progress and points you to a goal ahead. At this great epoch in your national evolution I earnestly appeal for co-operation. Let us look upon the bitterness of the past merely as the growing pains of a great people straining towards fuller development. Believe me, the years of guardianship and tutelage have not been so barren as some would have us think. The pace of India's political growth as measured by the development of her political machinery may have seemed slow, but who would deny that meanwhile her intellectual, economic, and national faculties have gone on from strength to strength.

" So much for the past, but what of the future ? Do you for one moment think that in their relations with India the British people and the British Government will be guided otherwise than by those standards of justice and good faith which

alone have kept India attached to the Empire and on which you have learnt to rely from the King-Emperor down to his humblest subject? The British people are proud of the bonds which link them to India and never more so than at this moment when the sons of India are fighting the battles of the Empire with such courage and devotion. Can anybody doubt that the persistence of these ties of affection is a matter of vital importance to the future well-being of India and that it will be an evil day when those who are working together in this country are no longer inspired by their common share in a great and glorious page of history.

"But forgive me if I warn you—and this warning has no special application to any community but includes British and Indian alike, the public readers and particularly the Press representing every interest and every class—forgive me if I warn you that sentiment is a delicate plant which withers beneath the rude breath of uncharitableness. It is only by constant and watchful regard for the feelings of others that a sweet and healthy sentiment for the Empire can be brought to blossom and bear fruit on Indian soil. Let it not afterwards be laid at the door of this generation that in these spacious times of Imperial regeneration we allowed the sun of Imperial attachment through any fault of our own to lose its vitality.

#### **Appeal to Indian Leaders.**

"Of the Indian leaders I have a special request to make. It is that at the present juncture and throughout the difficult stages of transition which lie ahead of us they will believe in our good-will and in our sincerity of purpose. After all, whatever our differing points of view, we all have at heart the same thing—the welfare of India. The task we have to approach is no easy one; there are conflicting interests to adjust; grave difficulties to overcome. Who knows them better than yourselves? Heroic remedies endanger the body politic no less than the human

organism. I doubt if there is among us here any man who could propound a scheme of reform in which he felt full confidence and satisfaction as possessing exactly what the best interests of India require with due regard to the circumstances of her development and her present position. The questions at issue must be approached in a spirit of reason and in an atmosphere of mutual confidence and co-operation. Let us then sit down together as friends mindful of old historic associations, harbouring no mistrust, and let us examine these great problems solely from the stand-point of what is judicious, what is practical and, above all, what is right. It is indeed meet and proper that we should seek to put our house in order.

" But beyond our gates, stern and insistent, there still stands the great imperative of the war. Hon'ble Members will, I trust, realise from my words to-day that I have not in the past, nor I shall in the future minimise the importance of the great question of reform; but we must not allow ourselves to forget for one moment that far from India's shores a question far more vital to the future of India is being desperately fought out; that the Empire is still calling upon her sons for their help; and it is our first and paramount duty to throw our all into the scale. It is perhaps only natural from our remoteness from the scene of conflict that the call should sometimes seem faint and far away, but I know that it has only to be sounded in clear notes for India's response to be as great and as ungrudging as of yore."

## APPENDIX XI.

**Conservative Hindu Theories of Government.**

In February, 1910, the following letter appeared in the *Times* :—

"In the most recent issue of the leading Marathi paper, *The Kesari*, is to be found an article entitled *Ajchi konnsilen udhyanche Parlement* ('To-day's Council, to-morrow's Parliament'). In it the writer states definitely that, whatever Lord Mcrley may say, the Indian people will never be satisfied until they receive parliamentary institutions with plenary powers. At the same time if we consider the state of the great dependency we find unrest in the Punjab and the United Provinces, murders and murderous attempts in Bombay, the *Pax Britannica* barely existing in Bengal. It must therefore be reluctantly admitted that the reforms which for two years occupied the attention of the Secretary of State and his advisers, and embodied everything that Western experience could teach or the highest statesmanship inspire, have failed to satisfy Indian wishes and to fulfil the hopes entertained at Whitehall that anarchy would automatically disappear on their introduction. It is idle to attribute this failure to Indian ingratitude, because Englishmen experienced in Eastern affairs will readily admit that, as a rule, the Indian is at least as capable of feeling and showing gratitude as a European. In the hope therefore of ascertaining the true cause let us cursorily examine the ancient Hindu theory of government.

**The Duties of the King.**

"That theory is fully disclosed in the *Mahabharata*, the most majestic work ever produced by the human intellect, a work, too, which is to-day as popular with Indians as when forty centuries ago it was chanted to instruct the youth and beguile the tedium of the Princes of Hastinapura. Unlike all systems of government known to the West, the Hindu system contains no popular

element whatever. In it we find no Witanagemote in which the nobles may advise the monarch; still less has it any place for a *comitia centuriata*, with its stormy masses of spearmen, to scrutinize and control the encroachments of the royal prerogative. In the kingdoms described in the *Mahabharata* the inhabitants are rigidly divided into four wholly distinct and separate classes (*Udhyog Parva*, p. 67, Roy's translation). First come the Brahmins, whose duty it is to study, to teach, to minister at sacrifices—receiving in return gifts from 'known' or, as we should say, respectable persons. Then follow the *Kshattriyas*, or the warrior class, whose whole life has to be spent in fighting and in warlike exercises. Thirdly, come the *Vaisyas*, who acquire 'merit by accumulating wealth through commerce, cattle-breeding, and agriculture. Fourthly, we have the *Sudras*, or serfs, who are bound to obey the other three classes, but who are forbidden to study their Scriptures or partake in their sacrifices.

"High over all classes is the King. He is the living symbol of strength and power. He is 'the tiger among men,' the 'bull of the Bharata race,' and his form and features bear the visible impress of the Most High. The whole arduous business of government rests on his shoulders. He cannot appeal to his subjects to help him in carrying out good administration nor can he leave his duties to others. For to beseech and to renounce are both against the laws of his order (*Vana Parva*, p. 457). At the utmost he can employ counsellors to advise him, but their numbers must never exceed eight (*Ganti Parva*, p. 275). In any case they only tender advice when asked (*Udhyog Parva*, p. 100), and the full responsibility of all acts rests on the King only. It is he who must keep up the arsenals, the dépôts, the camps, the stables for the cavalry, the lines for the elephants, and replenish the military storehouses with bows and arrows. It is he who must maintain in efficient repair his six different kinds of citadels—his water citadels, his earth citadels, his hill

citadels, his human citadels, his forest citadels, and his mud citadels. (*Ganti Parva*, p. 277.) It is he who must see that the capital has abundant provisions, impassable trenches, impenetrable walls; that it teems with elephants, cavalry horses, and war-chariots. He must maintain an efficient staff of spies to ascertain the strength of neighbouring monarchs and do his utmost to cause dissension among their servants. (*Ganti Parva*, p. 224.) The War Office and the Foreign Office are alike under his immediate headship. It is for him to conclude treaties, to lead to battle his armies, and during peace to keep them prepared for war. (*Ganti Parva*, p. 228.) But the duty which comes before all others is to protect his subjects. That, indeed, is imposed on him as a religious duty. 'For having protected his kingdom a King becomes sanctified and finally sports in Heaven.' (*Ganti Parva*, p. 68.) 'Whether he does or does not do any other religious acts, if only he protects his subjects he is thought to accomplish all religion.' (*Ibid.*, p. 193.)

#### The Penalties of Sedition.

"In return for the proper discharge of his innumerable tasks, he is regarded by his subjects as the incarnation of Indra. He is entitled to a sixth share of the gross revenue of the country. Fearful penalties attach to the infringement of his rights. 'That man who even thinks of doing an injury to the King meets with grief here and Hell hereafter.' (*Ganti Parva*, p. 221.) 'He will be destroyed like a deer that has taken poison.' On the other hand, should the King fail to meet his obligations—and, above all, if he does not protect his subjects—he offends grievously. 'These persons should be avoided like a leaky boat on the sea: a preceptor who does not speak, a priest who has not studied the Scriptures, a King who does not grant protection.' (*Ganti Parva*, p. 176.) 'A King who does not protect his kingdom takes upon himself a quarter of its sins.' (*Drona Parva*, p. 625.) In the last resort his subjects will be freed from their allegiance.

'If a powerful King approaches kingdoms torn by anarchy from desire of annexing them to his dominions the people should go forward and receive the invader with respect.'

"In a similar manner the entire civil administration must be conducted by the King. He must see to it that wide roads, shops, and water-conduits are constructed. He must look after the streets and by-paths. He must treat all classes impartially, and, above all, scrutinize carefully the work of the courts of justice. 'The penal code properly applied by the ruler maketh the warders (*i.e.*, Judges) adhere to their respective duties, and leadeth to an acquisition by the Ruler himself of virtue.' (*Udhyog Parva*, p. 383.) But although the subjects have the right to expect justice they cannot expect kindness or even easy condescension. 'The heart of a King is as hard as thunder.' (*Ganti Parva*, p. 57.) 'Knowledge makes a man proud, but the King makes him humble' (*Ganti Parva*, p. 223.) 'When the King rules with a complete and strict reliance on the science of chastisements, the foremost of ages called the *kirta* is said to set in' (*ibid.*, p. 228). 'The King must be skilful in smiting' (*ibid.*, p. 174.) 'Fierceness and ambition are the qualities of the King' (*ibid.*, p. 59.) 'The King who is mild is regarded as the worst of his kind, like an elephant that is reft of fierceness' (*ibid.*, p. 171). Indeed, failure to treat subjects with rigour is visited with penalties as tremendous as failure to protect them. 'They forget their own position and most truly transcend it. They disclose the secret counsels of their master; without the least anxiety; they set at nought the King's commands. They wish to sport with the King as with a bird on a string' (*ibid.*, p. 172). And in the end they destroy him. 'The King should always be heedful of his subjects as also of his foes. If he becomes heedless they fall on him like vultures upon carrion' (*Ganti Parva*, p. 289.)

### Influence of the *Mahabharata*.

"Here we have commended as a pattern of administration a despotism such as the West has never experienced. It is inquisitorial, severe—sometimes, perhaps, wantonly cruel. But from the fearful pitfalls that encompass weakness it is certain to be sleeplessly vigilant and in the highest degree virile, forceful, and efficient. Now, it will be asked what bearing the doctrines of a work four thousand years old have on the problems of the present day? But it must be remembered, as that eminent scholar, the late Mr. Jackson, the victim of the abominable Nasik outrage, pointed out, that Hindu civilisation and Hindu thought are at bottom the same now as in the days of Yudhishthira.

"The *Mahabharata* is the constant companion from youth to age of every educated Indian. Its tales have provided matter for the poetry, the drama, and the folksongs of all ages and of all languages. No Hindu will live in a house facing south, as it is there that lives Yama, the god of death. No Hindu will go to sleep without murmuring *Astika* as a preventive against snake-bite. For *Astika* rescued the snakes from the vengeance of Janamajaya, the great-grandson of the *Mahabharata* hero Arjuna. The independent Indian Princes conduct their administration exactly on the lines indicated in the *Mahabharata*, and even States as enlightened as Baroda and Kolhapur still adhere to the Council of eight Ministers recommended in that immortal work. Indeed, its teachings really explain the puzzle of Indian loyalty to the British Government. According to Western ideas, no amount of *Pax Britannica* would compensate the conquered for foreign rule. The Poles still sigh for the bad old days of independence and misrule, and are in no way comforted by the efficiency of German administration. But the Indian's allegiance to his native Kings was, as the *Mahabharata* lays down, released by their weakness, and he readily transferred his loyalty to those who, although foreign, had yet shown that they could govern

vigorously. Lastly, Mr. Roy, in the introduction to his translation, entertained no doubts on the subject; for he replied to the critics who charged him with unlocking to the barbarian the Sacred Scriptures that he did so in the cause of good government.

"The immense size of the Indian Empire precludes anything like the centralization of the Kshattriya monarchies. We would also recognize that a century's inculcation of Western ideas must have created a certain demand for Western institutions. But the reforms recently introduced have been framed on a scale generous enough to satisfy all reasonable requirements. Therefore, when Press attacks on the Government and unrest still continue it may be well to consider whether during the last 20 years Indian polity, while striving to suit Western has not, by steadily weakening the executive, offended Eastern ideas. It is no doubt the case that the agitators proclaim that their need is for further concessions. But the sick, whether physically or mentally, are often strangely mistaken as to the remedies their maladies require."

## APPENDIX XII.

**Extracts from Sir James Meston's 1916 Convocation Address  
to the Allahabad University.**

**AN INDIAN STUDENT'S CAREER.**

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"Here we may leave the boy who intends to divert to manual labour the improved intelligence with which our primary system will certainly endow him. Let us now follow the career of his class-fellow who makes for higher education, hoping for bread which he will not eat wholly in the sweat of his face. Let us assume that he is a clever boy, industrious, with a good memory. He will sail through the middle school stage without difficulty, and he will then find himself trying to understand most of his teaching in a foreign tongue. If he survives the bewilderment, he will get his leaving certificate from his high school, and be ready to enter forthwith into college life. But he may be less fortunate, or his particular school may prepare only for the matriculation examination. In that case he joins the vast multitude that jostles at the door of the University. There were 5,000 candidates this year, apart from the large number which already held passports in the shape of the school-leaving certificate; and only one out of every three or four gets through the narrow portal. If our young friend is one of the successful, his college work begins. At first, however, it is a fresh struggle with instruction in a foreign language, the teaching being quicker, heavier, and more technical than it was at school. Much that is elementary has to be drummed into him; or, if the lectures are above his head, he has to resort to text-books and memorizing. At the end of the second year of this somewhat unsatisfactory process, the University steps in with its intermediate test, and finds that less than half the students are fit to go any further; this year nearly 2,500 candidates were put through that trial, and only 41 per cent. survived. But our friend escapes shipwreck

once more and starts the two remaining years for his Bachelor's degree. These years are perhaps the hardest of all; for the test at the end of them is again severe, and he and his fellow-students are also passing through that phase which has been described by one of our Principals as 'the feverish anxiety in regard to their career which marks their last year at college and which even clouds their success in the university examination.' Even if our youth again achieves success, and even though more than half of his competitors again fall out, he finds himself, in a year like the present, one of 600 new graduates. In the mere number there is ground for the feverish anxiety of which Mr. Davies speaks. Government appointments can absorb only a handful, and in the learned professions—which for practical purposes means the legal profession—there cannot be a living wage for more than a fraction of the annual output. Where else is he to turn? For what other walk in life has this crowd of young men been equipped and prepared? These are some of the questions which the University has now to ask itself.

### **Terrible Wastage.**

"Am I guilty of exaggeration when I say that, in this picture of the student's career, there is one outstanding feature which dismays the on-looker? I mean the terrible wastage that goes on at every stage of preparation for the University degree. We have seen that at the very outset thousands of candidates from our high schools are found educationally unfit to enter the University at all, and are shut out. We have seen how many are cast aside two years later in the very middle of their college life; and finally how small a proportion of even the residuum are given the final hall-mark for which they have been struggling as a means of earning their livelihood. The school-boy is not too late to turn his hand to less ambitious work: but the under-graduate who has to stop short of his degree has a hard time before him: and, as

for the 'F. A. fail,' I look upon him frankly as the most dispiriting product of our educational system. There must be something gravely wrong when so many young men waste two years at the most precious period of their life. What a volume of fruitless labour has it meant for their teachers; how much bitterness for themselves; how serious a handicap to their belated start in life! And all along the line there is a waste of human effort which impeaches the very humanity of our work. The blame is neither yours nor mine, but that of the system of which we are ministers. It is frequently alleged, as you know, that the real grievance is the growing severity of the University tests; that we are aiming at unattainable perfection, and that we are turning too many young men of average intelligence from our doors. We are pointed, as a final argument, to certain other universities where the percentage of passes is far higher than it is at Allahabad. Gentlemen, great though the temptation, I must not diverge to contrast our ideals with those which satisfy a neighbouring university. Nor, on the other hand, have I any feeling except sympathy for those to whom the stern censorship of examination refuses the boon of a college training. But those criticisms are wholly unjust which are levelled at this University for the steady raising of its standards. You feel it your duty, in spite of a defective system, to withhold the cachet of your degrees except from those who will do you honour, and not to scatter them upon men whose intellectual inferiority must react on national progress. It is often hard on the individual, but it is the truest service to the country, that you should make *Excelsior* your motto. The terrors of the examination hall, I admit, will not manufacture genius; nor will they remedy what is wrong in our methods. You cannot, for example, correct bad teaching by a stiff examination; but you can force upon the intelligent public and upon the Government issues which would lie for ever dormant if your tests were more complaisant.

### The Root-cause of the Wastage.

" Members of Convocation, I suggest for your consideration that the first and most remediable of the evils in our higher education lies in our secondary schools. I am only an amateur speaking to professionals, and you must be merciful accordingly. Two years ago I approached the same thesis from the under-graduate's point of view; and since then a certain amount of genial ridicule has been poured upon the 'legend of the cadaverous student.' I gladly concede that the sound teaching, *esprit de corps*, and the athletic traditions in some of our best colleges have gone far to counteract the mischief at which I hinted. But to the main text I adhere, that the great majority of boys leave our high schools before they are fit to take proper advantage of a university training. Speaking generally, their English is weak, their mental discipline incomplete, their power of expression defective ; they cannot follow college lectures with profit either in the language or in the handling of principles. If I were to search for a description of the situation in this province and its results, I could not find it more aptly than in the latest address delivered to the Convocation of the Bombay University by its Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Mackichan. From his own full experience, that eminent educationist tells us that in Bombay the students come insufficiently equipped in the language which is to be their sole medium of study, insufficiently grounded in the fundamental branches of a sound general education ; with the result that, except in the case of a few specially gifted young men, the first year at college is spent in work which should have been done at school. That the same is the case here, I am assured on the best authority : it is probably a truism to all of you who are engaged in collegiate work. Clearly, therefore, it is here that we have the root-cause of the lamentable proportion of failures in the intermediate examination, of the worst form of that human waste which we have just agreed in deplored. But its results spread

a great deal further. It goes without saying that they prevent even the successful student from reaping the full value of his teaching at the later stages, and thus react on his chances of securing his degree. But they also pull down the whole university standards. The pitch of college teaching has to be lowered to the capacity of the average entrant : the college is doing the work of the schoolmaster, and can we wonder if intellectual enthusiasm wanes ? Listen, gentlemen, to the university ideal as depicted by the Royal Commission on the London University, whose report may be taken as the last word on the subject. They are explaining the difference between the functions of secondary and technical schools and the objects of the university. They point out that the secondary school is the place for definite tasks and the orderly exercise of all the pupil's activities as a moral and mental training for his future studies. They then continue :—

“ ‘ In a university the aim is different, and the whole organisation ought to be adapted to the attainment of the end in view . . . . Knowledge should be pursued not merely for the sake of the information to be acquired, but for its own extension and always with reference to the attainment of truth. This alters the whole attitude of the mind. Scientific thought becomes a habit, and almost incidentally intellectual power is developed. . . . . Probably most of the students enter the university with a purely utilitarian object ; but they should find themselves in a community of workers, devoted to the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, and tenacious of this ideal against all external pressure of material and social advantages.’ ”

“ Before our society in Allahabad can reach out to this ideal, there is a long and difficult road before us. Are we moving at all in that direction ? Can we even begin the journey until our high schools are assigned their proper duties and staffed for their fulfilment ? ”

" For the next point, which I ask you to consider, I must carry you back again for a moment to my earlier figures. We saw that, exclusive of the large number which must have entered on the strength of their school-leaving certificates, about 5,000 boys applied for matriculation this year, and that the number to graduate was only about 600. This at once suggests the question, whether it is wise that so large a number of young men should strive for a university education and face the inevitable disappointment? If prizes in life awaited those who survive, there might be some excuse for the thronged competition, even though it would be sadly at variance with all ideals of university work. But out of these 600 new graduates, as we have already asked, how many are reasonably sure of worldly success? There are too many of them listening to me in this hall to make it either kind or proper for me to hazard a guess. I must leave the answer to the teachers who trained them; but we all know and we all regret that the number is in excess of the openings in life such as the university man legitimately looks for. *A fortiori* what hope of profit from university training can there be for the much larger multitude whose work at school is directed at the chance of proceeding to a college? In other words, ought not our high schools to divert to other careers the great majority of the boys who now read for the university? At present they struggle to matriculate because they have nothing else in view. It is not for the intrinsic advantages, the intellectual harvest of a university education. It is not for the sake even of some prospective career for which the university training will specially fit them. It is in the great mass of cases merely in a vague hope that a university degree will qualify them for something—a Government appointment mayhap, otherwise anything on which they can live. This attitude is, of course, fatal to the university spirit and the whole tone and purpose of its teaching. It also means a grave potential loss to the community

because in all these young men, who now hang on to the skirts of chance, there is material for increasing the wealth of the country. They could be used, and are urgently wanted, in trade and industry, in the handling of labour, and the preventing of waste. Give them a sound general education, apprentice them in time to business, and they will have an economic value. But get them half-taught, consume their best years in a struggle which leads to nothing, and what is your return but discontent and economic shrinkage.

### **Improvement of Secondary Schools.**

"Before all this can be remedied, many changes must happen; but one step towards health is again the improvement of our secondary schools. It should be their rôle to prepare a boy for life, and not to leave half of that task to the colleges. The education they give should be such as will fit their pupils to enter either upon a university career or upon any profession or calling which does not require a preliminary course of technical study. The last two years at the high school should not be a period of specialised coaching for matriculation. They should be employed in giving the pupil a habit of expression, of orderly thought and of methodical work, as well as that modicum of book-knowledge which is requisite in most vocations. Our schools should thus become the recruiting-ground for banking, estate work, produce-dealing, and many of the more responsible posts, technical or otherwise, in our mills and factories. For many of these callings a special apprenticeship will, of course, be necessary: but the high school boy will absorb its training more promptly, and will be more in request for it, than any other type of youth. His emoluments will be correspondingly more assured; his value in the industrial machine greater. It will be for the schoolmaster to watch his pupils in their final years and guide their parents in the choice of their career. Some will be clearly marked out

for higher study, others for the learned professions or the public services; these will go on to the university. But the present proportion will be reversed. It will be the small minority who will proceed to our colleges: the large majority who turn into business. Our colleges will be just as full as now, but with very different material, selected by its fitness for higher study, and not the haphazard product for our present system. To equip our schools for these heavier responsibilities means much alteration. The school-leaving certificate which has now a consensus of the best schoolmasters behind it has already gone far towards improvement. But at least another year should be added to the school course; its language-teaching must be modernised; the science work made much less narrow and rigid; and, above all, the supply of trained teachers greatly increased. All this entails a heavy expenditure of public funds, without which in my judgment our other efforts at commercial development will be in vain.

#### Technology and Science.

"We have thus, through two separate avenues, reached the conclusion that, in order to set about its proper work, our University must be fed with better material and that radical changes in our secondary schools are necessary to that result. I have also asked you to consider whether a more intelligent selection in those schools for admission to the university will not in time throw a large and sufficient force into the ranks of industry. And now, as the last stage in the argument, let us examine how the University can, in a more direct and intimate manner subserve our material progress. By material progress we may take it that we mean roughly the improvement and more economic use of our own raw products—the arts, in short, of agriculture and manufacture. For the promotion of these arts we require, apart from capital and labour, men capable of directing the higher processes of production at all its stages. This, of

course, implies technology and brings us back to our former anxiety lest we confuse a university with a polytechnic. It must at once be conceded that technical schools, where theory is taught only in so far as is necessary to make practice intelligent, have no place in the scheme of an university. 'But,' to quote again from the Royal Commission on London, 'the justification for admitting technology within the range of university education is that the applied science involved does not consist in mere applications of science— inventions and discoveries which are final and stereotyped, and can be learnt once for all. Technology means something quite different from this. It means the educational training which is required for all professions and callings in which a knowledge of pure science, including the more specialised forms of pure science, is the necessary basis of the intelligent and progressive practice of the profession or calling in question.' The Royal Commission were writing primarily of medicine ; but the distinction they drew would clearly, in the circumstances of India, bring within the pale of university studies the technology of agriculture, engineering, and the theory of commerce. But besides these sharply-defined topics, ought we not to aim at a wider range of pure science, with a closer association between under-graduate and post-graduate work ? Whether it is at all possible to bring up our constituent colleges to that standard, I greatly doubt until we set our high schools in order.







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